

THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

ITS BEGINNING AND ENDING

BY

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PREFACE

THE terrible war now being enacted in Europe, and especially on the Western front, has necessarily to some extent monopolized the attention of the English public and subordinated the interest in the more distant theatres of war. But it is not unlikely that the breaking-up of the German Colonial Empire will prove to be the vital achievement for the British race and the one fraught with the most far-reaching consequences to the future of the world.

When the prospect of peace allows this to be realized it is hoped that this little book may be found useful. Meanwhile it may have some interest to the many who have associations with special portions of our own colonial Empire.

It gives a concise but, it is believed, an accurate account of the genesis of *Welt-Politik*, and illustrates in a striking manner the German

power of organization and the co-ordination of political and commercial aims, and, though written for an Italian public, it cannot but have an interest for members of a race so widely spread throughout the world as our own.

Though published more than a year ago, and though some unavoidable delay has occurred in the translation, the book is not at present out of date.

I must here express my thanks to Miss M. A. Cimono, who has kindly revised my MS.

A. H.

September 1916.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

AT the present time, after a year of war, when controversy over, the responsibility of the gigantic conflict is suspended and the multi-coloured books of the different chanceries repose amid the dust of archives, no one can any longer doubt that besides the caprice of a monarch, the outbreak of the European conflagration was determined by a pre-existing collision of hostile forces—political, psychological, demographical—which in the conflicting shock of armies have revealed their utmost degree of tension, the supreme necessity of the determining act.

Germany, a prey to a frantic need for expansion, due to the spasmodic increment of its industries and to the great productivity of its people, whetted by the mentality of Prussian politics and rendered more efficient by the formidable Teutonic organization, was calculated to destroy the old equilibrium established in

former times between nations, when Germany had not reached the power of 1914. Herein, as Mario Alberti acutely observes, lies the entire truth about the war. Hence every contribution of study calculated to throw light on the various forms of the colossal effort towards expansion made by Germany within the last thirty years, while offering exact elements and criteria for valuation and opinions for a realistic analysis of the deepest causes of the present war, leads us to look with a surer and clearer political eye on the new history which is in course of preparation.

The colonial aspect, the eminently imperialistic character of this great war, which is now being waged equally by the nations which converge towards Germany as by those which adhere to England, is not yet estimated in just measure by the Italian public. Indeed, the aim of the present work is a nowise superfluous re-statement of the precise material and moral substance of the present conflict, in which Italy participates with all her strength. It aims at being a short sketch of German colonial activity in relation to now urgent events, an illustrative

summary, supplied with the chronicle of the greater operations of the war developed in the German colonies up till present times; a modest guide to the impartial and objective valuation of some most important factors of the actual conflict, which have traced and every day trace deeper the furrows of future history.

August 1915. \

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THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF GERMAN COLONIAL EXPANSION

The Hanseatic League and attempts at colonization made by some merchants of the South—The Colonial policy of Frederick William and his African Conquests—Inglorious end of the first experiment in colonization of Brandenburg and Prussia.

THE origins of German colonial expansion are undoubtedly to be sought in the *Hanse* or *Hanseatic League* (*Hansen*, corporation or association in the earlier German tongue) constituted in the thirteenth century by a treaty, which the cities of Hamburg and Lübeck formed with the aim of protecting their own commerce against the pirates of the Baltic and of defending their own privileges against the encroachments of neighbouring states. The advantages which the two cities derived from this union were so apparent that in a short time it was joined by numerous others belonging to different states, such as Bremen, Novgorod, London, Cologne, Brunswick, Danzig, Dunkirk, Antwerp, Ostend, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, until the number of such associated cities reached eighty.

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The formation of this league—the greatest commercial company that has ever existed—is considered one of the most curious phenomena in the mediaeval history of Europe. For although it could not rise to the dignity and power of a nation or a people, since it received within the orb of its own interests and its own laws cities and peoples living in different states and dependent on these latter, it had, nevertheless, a government and maritime code of its own, held congresses and disposed of fleets and armies, had judges and ambassadors and treated with nations and kings on an equal footing. It was dissolved in 1630, after a most adventurous career, and left nothing behind save the remembrance of the three Hanseatic cities—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

As for the work of expansion developed by the federated cities and peoples, the *Hansa* constituting itself arbitress of all the commerce of Northern Europe, limited its energies to founding important establishments in London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Moscow, Nijni Novgorod, an attempt made by the Senate of Lübeck to establish a commercial centre on the coast of Morocco having failed.

Nevertheless, if we cannot assert that the *Hansa* ever made or thought of promoting actual colonization, it was certainly the first manifestation of the German colonizing spirit, which asserted itself later, practically although ineffectually, by means of simple traders from South Germany. These pioneers attempted of themselves that which the *Hansa* had not

attempted, and determined that their country should profit by the discovery of America, the entire importance of which Germany—then a prey to, and agitated by, religious questions—did not apparently value. Nevertheless these were merely unsuccessful attempts. The Ehringers, a wealthy family of Nuremberg, obtained in 1521 from the Emperor Charles V, King of Spain, in return for money which they had lent him, the government of Venezuela, discovered and conquered by the Spaniards, but were only able to remain there a short time, and were obliged to cede their rights to the Welsers, compatriots commercially more powerful. The Welsers in numerous expeditions explored the whole of northern South America, but ended in falling victims to the envy of the Spaniards and only a few of the colonists survived to return to their native soil. Likewise failed the efforts made by the Fuggers and the Vöhlins, rich merchants of Ulm, who, having founded wealthy establishments in some ports of Southern Europe and in the Canary Islands, aimed at establishing themselves in the Indies and in Chile.

A hundred years later the Bavarian banker, John Joachim Becher, conceived the design of organizing a colony of his countrymen in America, and in Dutch Guinea itself. The idea was received with the greatest favour, and Becher easily succeeded in obtaining, not only the consent of the Dutch government, but also the exalted patronage of the Emperor of Germany for a "West India Company," which was to translate into action the projects of the audacious banker. Very

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soon, however, the envy and jealousy, which the rapid rise of Becher had excited, gained the day over the value of his project, and being obliged to renounce it, he fled to London, where he died in misery.

* * * * *

At this time Frederick William, the Great Elector, ascended the throne of Brandenburg, and with him the first experiment of German colonization, worthy of the name, was to be achieved. In Holland, where he had been educated, he had learnt to consider the work of colonization of that little nation as an essential element of its power, conquered by virtue of its commercial genius and maritime activity. On his return to his country, he used to say, that from commerce were derived the surest means of wealth and the development of a country, and that navigation and commerce are the staunchest pillars of a state, since they assure the inhabitants, whether by sea-faring or by their industrial productiveness, both supplies and prosperity. (*Der Gewisseste Reichthum und das Ausnehmen eines Landes kommen aus dem Commercium her. Seefahrt und Handel sind die fürnehmsten Säulen eines Estats wodurch die Unterthahnen, beides zu Wasser als durch die Manufakturen zu Lande, ihre Nahrung und Unterhalt erlangen.*)

We may accept as the first act of his love of colonization, the measure which he adopted for repopulating the March, which in the Thirty Years' War had lost almost half its inhabitants. He issued an appeal to the whole of Europe, opening the doors of his

state to all such as owing to the religious persecutions, which then raged, were obliged to fly from their native country. Thus, within a few years, colonists from all parts flocked to the hospitable March, and agriculture, commerce and industry again flourished.

Having obtained such great prosperity within a short time, the Great Elector set about the conquest of Pomerania, judging it indispensable that before attempting any enterprise beyond the seas, he should establish himself at the mouths of the Oder. The Peace of Westphalia had not assigned him Pomerania, but he, firmly resolved to share in the division which the maritime nations of Europe had made of the New World between 1648 and 1652, and availing himself of the counsels and work of the Dutch Admiral Arnault Gijssels of Lier, strove to form a Brandenburg Company of the East Indies. The obstinate indifference shown by public opinion towards colonial enterprise, in which the Sovereign seemed to place such faith, caused his plans once more to be shattered.

Nevertheless, always firm in his aim and convinced of the necessity of such enterprises, he continued to study the problem, on which he was so passionately set, and this time secured the interest of a great Dutch shipowner, Benjamin Raule. He, informed of the aims of Frederick William and fully approving of his ambitious design, did not hesitate to place at the disposal of the Brandenburger his labour and his entire fleet, sure of rapid and abundant success.

The rivalry, which was soon shown by Holland, led to the failure of the first attempt in Guinea and

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Angola: but on 16 May 1681 a treaty was stipulated by Captain Blonck, by means of which three negro chiefs ceded to the Elector the territories on the Gulf of Guinea, comprised between Axim and the Cape of Three Points along the Gold Coast, and by the Edict of 17 March 1682 was finally constituted the *Brandenburgische Afrikanische Handelsgesellschaft* to which the sovereign, along with many privileges and monopolies, accorded traffic in slaves (*Edikt wegen Octroirung der aufzurichtenden Handelskompagnie auf den Küsten von Guinea*).

The following year Major von der Groeben conducted a second expedition and erected the fort of Gross-Friedrichsburg on the western coast of Africa. Meanwhile the Company, further enlarging the zone of its own activity, gave great development to the slave trade, and requiring a base for this purpose, in 1685 asked and obtained from the King of Denmark permission to establish themselves in the island of St. Thomas, which nevertheless remained under Danish sovereignty. Other treaties with native chiefs gave the Bay of Arguin, south of the White Cape to the Brandenburgers and they erected new forts at Accada and at the Cape of Three Points.

* * * * *

The Elector thus saw his vast design achieved, and already thought of sending a mission to Asia to treat with the Great Mogul, so that Hindostan might be opened to commerce, when the Dutch, already jealous of the rapid conquests of the Brandenburgers,

in 1687 landed at Accada and other neighbouring points, and profiting by the scanty naval forces at the disposal of the little state for the protection of its African coast, made themselves masters of these different places.

It was the beginning of fresh ruin. The chests of the Company were gradually emptied, and owing also to the continued malversations of the officials, and to the entire movement of colonization, which had developed and prospered without the support of adequate military and naval forces, the inevitable crisis arrived, to the great grief of Frederick William. At his death, which took place on 9 May 1688, his son, Frederick II, who reigned as Frederick I, ascended the throne and showed that he intended to persevere in his father's policy, notwithstanding the deplorable situation of the Brandenburg Company, the debts of which now amounted to more than 500,000 thalers, or two and a half million francs. But the War of Succession in Spain did not allow the new sovereign to occupy himself with distant expeditions or to dedicate much care to preserving the African territories acquired by his father. When he died in 1713, the hostilities created by the Danish Company at St. Thomas and by the English in the rest of the Dark Continent had for ever compromised the fate of the Brandenburg colonial possessions.

The serious internal situation of the country in fact induced his successor Frederick William I to resign himself to the loss of the establishment on St. Thomas's and of that on the African coast. The

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island was restored without any compensation to the Danes, and the Dutch Company of the West Indies by the treaty of 18 December 1717 acquired for only 7,200 ducats, equal to 80,500 francs, the island of Arguin and the establishment of Gross-Friedrichsburg.

This first experiment in colonization achieved by Brandenburg and Prussia by will of the sovereign, thus met with an inglorious end, nor did it reveal the germs of that vaster and more complex expansionist movement which manifested itself in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century. The German people having by that time achieved their own national unity on the field of battle, were able to concentrate and direct towards a world-wide policy all those energies, which prior to the foundation of the Empire, had been dispersed among many little states and had been exhausted in sterile political struggles.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE AND THE RAPID SUCCESS OF GERMAN COLONIAL POLICY

Supreme necessity of expansion for the German Empire and advantages of Emigration—Bismarck's anti-colonialism and the successful propaganda of the Colonial party—Intervention of the government for the protection of commerce beyond the seas—The year of grace for German colonization and the occupation of various territories in Africa and Oceania—Powerful organization of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*—From the Empire of Central Africa to the gates of the East.

IN 1850, Prussia, closed in by hostile and jealous nations, cut off from the great maritime routes of world traffic, could not certainly aspire to the constitution of a colonial empire without having first vanquished that state of isolation in Europe which prohibited access to the most frequented seas, and led to constant menace from the south. Even then, however, Prussia possessed far-sighted men, who in colonial enterprise foresaw the future greatness of Germany, nor was their foresight vain.

The war of 1864 with Denmark installed Prussia, definitely on the North Sea, and that of 1866 with Austria removed all danger from the South: the iron circle of isolation was broken, and the German nation

thus went on acquiring a solidity and compactness which allowed her manufacturers, her merchants, her economists, and her politicians to indulge in ever vaster ambitions, to which the war of 1870-1 was to offer the most favourable moment—so eagerly awaited by the forerunners of the colonial idea.

The Empire having thus arisen, its destinies relied on the essential vision of a wary and prudent imperial policy.

Her spiritual unity and native solidity as a great power once affirmed on the fields of France, the German nation had need of a single aim, of a fixed goal on which to direct her exuberant and domineering strength, hence colonial expansion appeared to the most enlightened minds as a historic and unavoidable necessity, an essential condition to the life and prosperity of the empire.

There was one obstacle to be overcome—nothing less than Bismarck!

The constant dislike of Prince Bismarck to make Germany a colonial power is indeed well known. It will be remembered that he was accustomed to reply to anyone who wished to persuade him to adopt a policy of colonization, *Ich bin von Haus kein Kolonial-mensch* ("I am not naturally a colonial man"), and what he one day said to Gerhard Rohlfs, who had returned from one of his explorations in the Cameroons: "We do not wish, nor can we, colonize. We shall never possess a fleet like France. On the other hand our workmen, our lawyers, our retired soldiers are not worth anything for colonization."

But against the obstinate reluctance of the Iron Chancellor triumphed the proudly ambitious will of William II, and the wide-spread sentiment of the German people. They had no sooner reached their utmost degree of industrial development, when they recognized enterprises of overseas expansion to be a wise investment of exuberant productive energies, and a legitimate protective outlet for their own migratory currents which, ever more numerous, were serving to enrich the United States and Brazil.

Emigration and colonization are closely connected in the history of the expansion of the German people, since German emigration, begun when the Fatherland had no colonies of its own, was but a particular form of spontaneous colonization. German emigrants, instead of being dispersed throughout the world, were always collected in compact groups, which never ceased to maintain and strengthen close relations with the mother country on every available occasion. And if Germany waited so long to become a colonial power, it certainly was not from lack of colonists.

For a long time German economists denied that the metropolis derived any advantage from the existence of these spontaneous colonies, considering the annual exodus of emigrants as a loss, comparable to that of an army which would soon pass over to the enemy's side in the shock of great mercantile competition. They estimated in a century a loss of six millions of men and many millions of francs, in spite of the fact that German emigrants, while abandoning their nationality, remained tenaciously bound to their

home, and brought into their surroundings, as an element of progress, all the customs and traditions known by the word *Deutschtum*.

Later, however, they began to perceive in emigration an important feature of the nation, conceived as an organic whole, in that it opened to the mother country favourable markets, raised the receipts of navigation, transforming itself into temporary emigration followed by home-coming, brought to the metropolis valuable experience and still more valuable capital.

German emigration has thus served in a certain measure the material interests of Germany, but has had above all the advantage of diffusing throughout the world her intellectual and moral influence, and of bringing home the urgency of finding markets for surplus productiveness and surplus home population. Thus gradually the constant increase of births and the impossibility of increasing agricultural products in proportion, swelled the migratory currents, and these being directed towards lands which the mother country could hope directly to occupy, (the assumption of some journalist that Germany could for a moment contemplate an eventual occupation of the southern states of Brazil appearing absurd), the colonial idea found in Germany ever more powerful supporters. Meanwhile that wonderful economic revolution was accomplished which in a single decade was to transform the Germany of other days from an agricultural and forest-covered country into a formidable industrial, commercial, and maritime nation.

Already on the eve of the peace of Frankfort (10 May 1871) the united voices of economists and merchants, explorers, and publicists were heard inciting the German government to demand from France the cession of Algeria, Cochin China, and Pondicherry. Bismarck opposed the suggestion, nor would he even discuss it. "We," he said, "have no need of colonies, and I do not wish to resemble those Polish noblemen, who wear mantles of ermine on their shoulders and have no shirt next their skin."

Towards 1875 German emigration had assumed such alarming proportions that at Cologne, Frankfort and Leipzig not a few societies were constituted with the direct aim of preparing the mother country for the occupation of distant lands. But the Cabinet of Berlin, following the fixed determination several times expressed in the Reichstag, resolutely averse to colonial adventure, did not take any part in the propaganda of such as wished to interest public opinion in colonial problems, nor in the movements expressing such active fervour and hopefulness which spread among the upper industrial and commercial classes and in the banking world. Hence German intervention in the overseas territories always manifested a character of diplomatic guardianship. It was such in 1874 and 1877, when Germany with England protested against the obstacles created by Spain to the commerce of their respective kinsmen in the Caroline Islands and in the Palaos, such again in the same year (1874), when in consequence of the annexation of the Fiji Isles effected by England, a loud voice in defence

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of the German proprietors, who were thereby injured, was raised in London, and once more in 1880 and 1881 when the German warship "Victoria" appeared in the waters of Bengasi and later opposite to Monrovia.

The more efficaciously to uphold the enterprises attempted by the great Hamburg houses and the propaganda of the more audacious colonists—among whom were Admiral Livonius and the journalist Fabri, author of the famous treatise, *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien? Eine politische-oekonomische Betrachtung*—soon arose institutes intent on gathering and co-ordinating a collection of preparatory studies, which redounded greatly to the advantage of the spread of German colonial activity; in Berlin the *Zentralverein für Handelsgeographie und Foerderung deutscher Interessen in Auslande*, by means of Dr. Janasch and at Düsseldorf the *Westdeutscher Verein für Kolonisation und Export*.

A real and special colonial party, favoured by the Emperor and by the group of Rhenish industrialists had been forming in the Empire. Hubbe-Schleiden first upheld the project of establishing commercial stations on the West Coast of Africa, when Dr. Janasch and Herr Rholf's warmly upheld the colonization of Morocco and the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg—after the Reichstag had refused a projected guarantee of the State for a society which was to buy out the affairs in progress, with commercial stations and plantations from the Hamburg house of Godeffroy in the Samoan Islands—contemplated re-uniting with the aid of Baron Maltzan, all the scattered colonizing

energies in one powerful association. Thus centralized, colonial ideas could be spread throughout Germany and the erection of small commercial stations favoured. Then the protection of the Empire could be solicited for these stations in spite of the aversion manifested by the Reichstag.

It is necessary to remember that the project of the Samoans was rejected by only 128 votes against 112, and the *Norddeutscher Tageszeitung* thus commented on the vote: "It is probable that if the country had been consulted on a question such as this, its verdict would have been quite different from that of the Reichstag. The project was the prelude to a German colonial policy. Neither the enemies of our greatness nor the doctrinaires of the Manchester school will be able to prevent Germany entering on the path which other nations have followed with advantage." And the *Post*: "If there exists a people fitted for colonization it is the German. A great part of the world's commerce is in their hands. We require markets or rather outlets for the development of our commerce and our industries: we want breathing spaces or rather reservoirs for our overflow population. We are now a united and powerful nation; we want German colonies."

Such was the state of mind arising in Germany with respect to colonial enterprise by means of meritorious journalists, who naturally hailed with favour the initiative of the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenbourg. A preparatory meeting was afterwards held in Frankfurt on 26 August 1882, when a committee was ap-

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pointed, which issued a manifesto to the country showing the necessity of increasing the commercial outlets of Germany, with the object of establishing and maintaining a solid and close bond between German energies beyond the seas and the metropolis. It aimed further at arousing public anxiety to the utmost, since the ambitious aims of other countries tended to restrict more and more the lands on which it would have been possible to settle, and on 6 December the same year was constituted at Berlin the *Deutscher Kolonialverein*, destined to form the colonial conscience of the new Germany, the management of which was entrusted to a directive-Council composed of twenty-five members, of which the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg was elected president.

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Two years of highly active propaganda of the *Deutscher Kolonialverein* sufficed to achieve miracles in the public spirit of the German people in favour of the colonial idea. And in 1884 the International Conference, over which Prince Bismarck presided, sanctioned in the German capital, by the signatures of the famous General and Final Act, the creation of the Independent State of the Congo, which evoked so loud an echo throughout the whole Empire that even the most sceptical and indifferent grew interested in colonial questions.

The Government itself, although taking care to pledge its own responsibility and that of the country as little as possible, already showed its desire to

second individual attempts and those of the company in spite of the irremovable opposition of the Reichstag. Just at this time the Reichstag refused a request for subvention in favour of a line of navigation to the Far East and the Pacific, and in February 1883 had entered into negotiations with the British Government to ascertain whether England would extend her protectorate in South West Africa over the country, where the previous year Franz Adolf Lüderitz, a rich merchant of Bremen, had settled. Further, whether she boasted of sovereign rights over these regions. Lord Granville having replied evasively, the government of Berlin without more ado cut short the negotiations, granted Lüderitz the required protection in sending to the German Consul at the Cape the following telegram: "According to the communication of Herr Lüderitz the Colonial authorities of the Cape do not know with certainty whether the establishments which he has founded north of the Orange River are recognized by Germany. Will you inform them officially that Herr Lüderitz and his establishments are placed under the Imperial Protectorate."

Nevertheless to Dr. Gustaf Nachtigall, who in 1884 in virtue of a mission with which he was entrusted, prepared to take possession in the name of the German Empire of some territories of West Africa, Bismarck wrote on 19 May: "The creation of an entire administrative system, which signifies the sending of new German functionaries, the establishment of permanent governors with German troops, the obligation on the part of the Empire to aid the Germans

who contemplate establishing in such countries factories and commercial undertakings, at the risk of provoking conflicts with stronger maritime powers, was never within the intentions or the Government. To attain the object which we propose, we ought to limit ourselves to stipulate treaties of friendship, of commerce, and of protectorate, which in themselves constitute an efficacious guarantee for German subjects." And on 26 June of the same year (1884), explaining more fully in the Reichstag his own colonial intentions, he said: "I am energetically opposed to the creation of colonies, according to an idea that I hold it wrong to acquire a territory, to place officials and a garrison there, and then invite colonists to come and take up their abode. The question is altogether different when it is one of ascertaining whether it is the duty of the Imperial Government to accord its protection; it is then claimed by subjects who have taken the risk of colonial enterprises, in which the overflow of the German population will find a natural outlet."

The Chancellor then began to consider the possible advantages of a private initiative in colonial affairs and later added: "My intention, in conformity with that of His Majesty, is to leave to the activity and the spirit of initiative of those among our fellow-citizens, who have given themselves to overseas commerce, the entire responsibility of the foundation and material development of the colony. I intend to resort to the system of annexation of maritime provinces to the German Empire, not to that of giving Letters of

Franchise equivalent to the English Royal Charters. I think that it would be wise to leave to the companies the care of government, limiting ourselves to study the means of assuring to the Europeans the superiority, by means of an opportune jurisdiction and in guaranteeing them every possible protection, always on condition of not being obliged to keep garrisons. I think, moreover, that in every country acquired in such a manner, it would be sufficient to have a single representative of the imperial authority; who could be called Consul or Resident, and whose duty would be to receive appeals. The questions that might arise between traders would be examined before our maritime and commercial courts of Bremen, Hamburg, or elsewhere. Our intention is not first to create provinces to be administered, but so take under our protection colonial enterprises and to aid them during their development, whether against the attacks of immediate neighbours, or against the annoyances that might arise from European nations. In so doing, where such creations are unsuccessful, the Empire will not lose much and the expense will not have been considerable.

* * * * *

Such intentions, put forward by the Iron Chancellor, were at the same time an incentive and a guarantee. Hence in the spring of 1884 Dr. Karl Peters founded at Berlin the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*, a society for practical organization, intended to create German agricultural and commercial

colonies, with the aim of preparing for German emigration. Territories, however, were lacking for the purpose, such lands as physical and climatic conditions rendered suitable, being already occupied by other Powers, and Germany, the latest arrival, together with Italy, though with a different strength, in the lists of colonial enterprises, could not enjoy liberty of choice. None but the regions of Central Africa and New Guinea remained. On these Germany fixed her aims, and with sure and rapid action in a short time succeeded in imposing her sovereignty on thirteen millions of subjects in an empire of three million square kilometres.

The bases of this empire were made by Dr. Peters during the first expedition which—after the failure of the plans made by the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation* for establishing relations with the *Deutscher Kolonialverein*—he and Count Joachim von Pfeil conducted in November 1884 (the year of Grace of German colonization) on the East Coast of Africa, opposite Zanzibar. Here he found the means of negotiating with the chiefs of those regions on behalf of the *Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, constituted on purpose, most advantageous contracts which were to give Germany her best colonial possession—German East Africa.

But already in 1882 Franz Adolf Lüderitz had acquired from a chief *Namqua* for 200 marks and a gun the little bay of Angra Pequena on the south-west coast of Africa, a short distance from the north frontier of Cape Colony, obtaining very soon—as

mentioned above—the protection of the government of Berlin. This first acquisition, which passed into State possession on 4 April 1885 was followed almost contemporaneously by that of the Cameroon and the Togo on the west coast of Africa, and while on the east the work of penetration was intensified under Dr. Peters, German power became firmly established also in the Pacific. On 17 October 1884 the banner of the empire waved over Konstantinshafen, and the German protectorate was established on the islands, which in 1700 Dampier had named New Britain and which the new claimants rechristened Bismarck Archipelago. But the northern part of New Guinea, after the partition of the island between England, Holland and Germany, by means of the Act of 17 May 1885, was called Emperor William's Land.

The acquisition of the Marshall Islands, the Carolines and the Mariannes, and also of the two principal Samoan Islands—Upulu and Sawai—took place in succession—acquisitions which assured to Germany an important place as a political and commercial advanced post even in this part of the world; this repository of future wealth and prosperity.

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The German colonial empire was constituted in less than four years; it was necessary, however, to utilize these possessions by industry and foresight, all the more since not one of them could become a colony of settlers as had been hoped, although in different ways each presented excellent characteristics for exploitation. On the other hand the emigration of the

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German proletariat had been arrested, nor did it seem opportune to lead new currents towards the recent conquests.

The work of civilization initiated by military occupation was generously forwarded and with great practical insight by the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*. This society—in accordance with the votes given by the first German Colonial Congress, organized in the autumn of 1886 by the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation*—was amalgamated with the *Deutscher Kolonialverein* on 19 November 1887.

The Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg was elected the first President of the new society, and Dr. Karl Peters Vice-president.

A year later the *Kolonialgesellschaft* numbered 16,742 members, and in 1914 had become exceedingly powerful, comprising five regional federations, besides 350 sections, nine of which were in foreign countries (Antwerp, Paris, London, Palermo, Chicago, Tokio, Apia, Batavia, Bagamoyo); 125 local societies in which are inscribed collectively many thousands of members, each paying a subscription varying from ten to twelve marks. Every section possesses its own organization and enjoys a great amount of autonomy. Added to the direction of the *Kolonialgesellschaft* is a Council of six members, elected by a committee of twenty councillors who form part of the social administration, which in its turn is composed of eighty men.

In the Statute of the Society the following principal aims are authorized: 1. To combine the vital forces of the nation in order to promote German colonization,

and with this object to increase the diffusion of necessary technical knowledge. 2. To seek practical solution for all such colonial questions as present themselves. 3. To favour German colonial initiative and to watch over its development. 4. To study the practical solution for regulating the German emigration movement. 5. To maintain and strengthen the economic and moral ties that unite the Germans of the Fatherland to those beyond the seas. 6. To co-ordinate all colonial energies and all initiative.

With the exception of the emigration movement, for which no practical solution has been found, it may be said that the *Kolonialgesellschaft*, which in the *Kolonialzeitung* had an efficacious and admirably edited organ, pursued its vast programme with exemplary tenacity and continuity, obtaining the best results. It has always vigorously extended its own stimulating and protective energy to every branch of the colonial life of the Empire, upholding by every means new companies, equipping at its own expense numerous expeditions, subsidizing publications concerning colonial questions, founding banks and schools for the natives in the colonies, participating in the construction of the great lines of communication, establishing offices of information for the emigrants, promoting the study of the African languages, and finally by contributing to a Garden of Acclimatization (*Botanische Zentralstelle für die Kolonien*), for colonial plants at Hamburg, to a special school for colonial agriculture at Wilhelmsdorf and to a colonial Museum at Berlin.

The society possesses besides a circulating library of many thousand volumes, a valuable guide to the knowledge of the literary movement in the German colonies.

Beside the *Kolonialgesellschaft*, other societies gradually arose for the attainment of this or that aim of the colonial movement. We may specify the Association of Women for nursing the sick in the Colonies (*Frauenverein für Krankenpflege in Kolonien*); the Berlin Committee for the introduction of colonial products in the capital (*Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee*); which has also an organ of its own, the *Tropenpflanzer*; the society for sending German girls to the colonies (*Deutschkolonialer Frauenbund*), with the object of preventing the colonists already settled abroad from contracting marriages with coloured women, and thus creating offspring inferior to the pure German type.

The Colonial Institute of Hamburg, an institute of higher study for colonial officials, and at the same time a school for artisans, merchants, and all such as proposed to settle in the colonies, was founded at the expense of the city in 1909. It was intended to become a directive centre in which were to be co-ordinated all German colonial efforts, and in the last few years it has already yielded excellent results. Colonial exhibitions also—imitations of such as England has always held—as a means of propaganda and diffusion of colonial education, have been numerous, and important from 1896 onwards. The first took place in Berlin in 1896, under the presidency of

Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, successor of Prince Hohenlohe as head of the *Kolonialgesellschaft*.

Thus, profiting by the long experience of others, and employing all their own faculties of organization, discipline and method, the German people have been able in a quarter of a century to achieve the miracle of exciting the admiration of the colonial nations *par excellence*—England and France,—of which in the seas of Africa and Asia they had become the rival. This sturdy rival grew more formidable every day, for hand in hand with the purely colonizing energy of societies and private individuals the government necessarily developed a like activity in the naval dockyards, building a great fleet “for the protection”—so the Germans said—“of German commerce and their distant compatriots.” And here again the *Kolonialgesellschaft* acquired a new title of merit towards the country for the energetic conduct it had displayed in 1888 towards the members of the Reichstag, in inducing them to approve the order in the Budget for the necessary funds for the new naval constructions. Of these the government proposed the immediate execution in accordance with an organic plan of progressive increase of the fleet, and since then the agitation in favour of the project has been directed by two great associations of propaganda, that of the *Hauptverband Deutscher Flottenvereine in Auslande* and the *Deutscher Flottenvereine*, both of which arose at the instance of the same *Kolonialgesellschaft*, which supported their formation and aided their development.

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The opposition of England to Germany's policy of colonization showed itself betimes, although not always openly. The first acquisition by Lüderitz was followed on the part of the Cape Government by the occupation of Walfisch Bay, that Bay of Whales which cuts like a wedge into the German possession. In the Cameroon England spared neither money nor missions of officers and consuls to prevent the penetration of the new rival, and the question of the Cameroon raised serious ill-humour between London and Berlin. The conflict between the two cabinets became exceedingly bitter on the seizure of East Africa, when the English encouraged the Sultan of Zanzibar in his plots against the Germans; and in 1885 Dr. Robert Flegel, who wished to found commercial stations in the region of the river Benuè and in the Adamaua—regions explored by him in two previous expeditions,—with the aim of preparing German penetration in the basin of the Chad, was opposed by one of the most influential English companies—the National African Company—which did not allow him to bring the expedition to a head.

But the characteristic qualities of the German race soon overcame all the obstacles interposed by the most powerful rivals. They were also aided by the fact that, now when the united Sovereign and people had pledged the flag and the funds of the nation beyond the seas, Prince Bismarck, who had formerly opposed such enterprises, came forward generously in raising necessary capital and in vigorously safeguarding the interests of his distant countrymen.

Neither could the colonizing power of Germany restrict itself to the possession and exploitation of her African and Oceanic colonies, for already the new German world policy, the *Welt-politik*, directly inspired by the ambitious mind of William II, and inaugurated by his government after the treaty of Berlin, had several times revealed its immediate and remote aims. The famous Baghdad railway was to secure an absolutely privileged position for the future partition of Ottoman spoils. Nor was the idea abandoned of creating the great Central African Empire to be crossed from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic by a railway already christened, the Transequatorial. This was intended to unite the Cameroon with the colony of East Africa, across the Belgian Congo, not ignoring the eventual annexation of the Portuguese colonies.

A first step towards this end had been achieved with success, when in 1911 Germany, finally abandoning Morocco to France, after the appearance of the cruiser Panther in the waters of Agadir, demanded for herself as compensation a small part of the French Congo, two points which reached to the Ubanghi and the Congo, thus across the two rivers that united the Cameroon to the Belgian Congo.

But the colonial dream of the pan-Germans aimed even at China, at an eventual dismemberment of the vast republic, and in 1897, the murder of two clergymen at Kiaochau offered Germany the noble pretext for the occupation of this important Chinese territory, which was soon called the "Pearl of the Colonies."

"Providence," said William II, with his accustomed humble resignation, "has willed that the necessity of avenging some of our missionaries should lead us to the conquest of a commercial place of the first importance." Tsing-tau in the Bay of Kiao-Chau was in fact destined to become a formidable naval port, and afterwards a magnificent centre for the distribution of German products to Japan, Sciantung, and Northern China, which was not included within the zone of English and Russian influence, a *longa manus* of active exchange by which Germany came to occupy the first place among European powers in Asia.

Undoubtedly the economic invasion organized by the government of Berlin in Asia Minor, with the *Baghdadbahn* and the *Pachtgebiet* of Kiao-Chau, constitute the most important, and therefore the most interesting venture of the great colonial and maritime policy followed by Germany within the last twenty years, a venture from which originated the fundamental causes of the present European conflict. The African and Oceanic conquests once accomplished as the indispensable point of departure, German imperialism, born with the economic transformation of the country, had gradually, as demanded by the ever-growing necessity of national industry, commerce, and vitality, altered its course towards the East, where immense resources of dormant wealth represented to the Germans the field still open to all the energies and all the outlets for German activity. In Asia Minor, in the Near East, they saw the immediate future, in China and the Far East the more distant future, and with the greatest

foresight their rulers and their merchants had secured the gates of both.

Before, however, proceeding to illustrate these two aims equally characteristic of German colonial policy, which in themselves contain the germ of so great a part of the present and future history of the world, let us give a short account of the African and Oceanic colonies and of their war.

CHAPTER III

THE AFRICAN AND OCEANIC COLONIES AND THEIR WAR

The Togo and the French and English partition—The Cameroonian and the obstinate resistance of the German garrison—South West Africa and Botha's victorious campaign—East Africa and the English blockade of the coast—Oceanic colonies and the English occupation.

THE Protectorate of the Togo was created on 5 July 1884 by means of a treaty drawn up by Dr. Gustaf Nachtigall with the King of Togo, who declared therein that he accepted the protection of Germany. By this act the German government provided for the safety of the German merchants, its own subjects, who were continually exposed to the menaces of the natives, suborned by the English, from whose adjacent territories they had been obliged to retire in order to escape the burthens of the customs which oppressed them.

Questions of boundaries with France and England, the nations which predominated in the regions along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, were smoothed over towards the end of 1885, by means of mutual concessions. By degrees the Germans initiated and prosecuted explorations into the interior in order to spread

northwards. Having barred every road east and west, the causes of dissension, especially with the French, multiplied, and although removed in 1897, Germany was obliged to renounce the hope of reaching the Niger. Nevertheless the question with England concerning the possession of the neutral zone between the Togo and the Colony on the Gold Coast remained unsettled. It was, however, solved by the treaty of 8 November 1899, in which two-fifths of the zone were assigned to Germany and the remaining three-fifths to England.

This colony, which produces in considerable quantities palms, palm oil, rubber, cotton, cocoa, Indian corn, etc., being inhabited by a pacific population devoted to agriculture, has had a continuous and peaceful development, so that it has also economically made remarkable progress.

The principal centres are Lome, seat of the government commissariate, royal Popo or Anecho, Bagida, Togo, Port Seguro, Misahohe, Kpandu, Atakpame, Kete-Kratschi Bismarckburg, Sokode, Bassari, Banjeli, Jendi, Sansane-Mangu. The places along the coast are connected by a railway which runs from Lome to Anecho; another railway goes from Lome towards the interior as far as Palime, and other lines were projected. The roads for caravans and wheeled vehicles are very numerous, and the principal road, reaching from Bogu in the interior to the sea, has attracted to the German coast a great part of the commerce which following the course of the Volta flowed to the English coast.

The Togo was governed by an Imperial Commissioner, whose military forces consisted of fifteen Germans and three hundred natives, besides a police force of two hundred negroes. The occupation on the part of the French troops of Dahomey took place in August 1914, the first month of the war. On the 8th the French banner was hoisted at Anecho and Port Seguro amid the acclamations of the native population. The Germans retired with their scanty handful of armed men into the interior of the country, pursued by the English and French colonial troops, and on 26 August were obliged to surrender to the Allied forces under Colonel Bryant.

At present the administration of the colony is provisionally in the hands of the English and French. The English Governor of the Gold Coast administers one-half, the French Governor of Dahomey the other. The arrangement does not, however, signify a division of the territory, but is a pure and simple conservative measure, which does not militate against negotiations and agreements that may later be arrived at.

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Several years before the institution of the German Protectorate the Cameroon had been already visited by not a few of the greatest German explorers; with the names of two of whom, Barth and Nachtigall, were connected in successful expeditions the discovery of the territory of the Chad. In 1870 numerous German factories, due to private enterprise, were prospering along the coast, the greater part of the commerce

being in the hands of some Hamburg firms. England had long striven to secure this region for herself, urging the native chiefs to seek her protection, but this not having been granted in time, they turned on various occasions to the German traders. In 1884 these traders succeeded in obtaining for them the protection of Germany, and on 14 July of the same year the official occupation in the expedition undertaken by Dr. Nachtigall was effected.

Many years passed before the colony was established within its actual confines, since German influence did not here spread so peacefully as in the Togo. It was soon necessary to send a military expedition to quell serious disorders, and the sloops *Olga* and *Bismarck* were sent to protect the imperial troops in the continued and sanguinary combats which they were obliged to wage along the coast. A year later, in 1885, the Germans were able to begin these explorations into the interior, and in 1892 they reached the Benuè, after a long series of fierce contests with the natives, who for several years more and more frequently compelled Germany to send armed forces at the cost of valuable lives. Still more bitterly contested was the last advance towards the Chad, where the Germans had been forestalled by the French, nor had German dominion any better fate in the regions along the coast. There, owing to the scanty ability displayed by successive governors, the discontent of the native traders showed itself openly, and the negroes of Dahomey, who constituted the police force, rose in rebellion. The revolt did not produce serious con-

sequences, and the men of Dahomey were substituted by Sudanese.

During this period and precisely in 1893, von Stetten had succeeded in concluding at Jola a treaty of friendship with the King of Adamawa, which with the protectorate of this region, secured the road to the Chad; successive treaties and agreements with France and England determined the exact boundaries of the colony, but absence of directive ideas and community of intentions in its government were so prejudicial to German activity, that in a short time it found its field of action limited by the pressure of the French and English on every side. Recently, however, after the Franco-German controversy over Morocco, Germany rectified her boundaries of the Cameroon with enormous advantage, obtaining that part of the French Congo, which, as we have said, permitted her to reach the Congo and the Ubanghi.

This colony produces a good quantity of rubber, palms, palm oil, cocoa, ivory, etc., and has for some time been a field of exploitation of the North-West Cameroon Company. The seat of the Imperial Governor was Buea. Other important centres are Victoria, Rio del Rey, Duala, Edea, Kribi, Kampo, Albrechtshöhe, Jabassi, Lolodorf, Ebolova, Jaunde, Bamum, Banjo, Kunde, Ngaumdere, Kontscha, Garua, Marua, Kusseti, Dikoa. Means of communication, however, are scarce; many railways in project, but very few constructed or in process of construction.

In the Cameroon the German forces were relatively great; about 2,000 men, comprising the native con-

tingent, which mobilization could increase by some thousands more, numerous mitrailleuses and several pieces of field artillery. On the declaration of war the colony was attacked on all its land frontiers. On the side of French Equatorial Africa, two columns, one formed at Bangui, the other at Brazzaville, invaded the territories, through which in virtue of the treaty of 4 November 1911, the Germans had access to the Ubanghi and the Congo. The French, leaving Uesso, attacked the German post of M'biru, were routed, but soon recovered from their first defeats. The first column operating in the Sanga, after a furious combat which lasted two days, occupied Nola on 22 October 1914, seized some mitrailleuses, a cannon, and a large supply of provisions, and between Nola and Bania joined the second column coming from Mobaye. These operations were directed by General Aymerich and had been facilitated by the energetic co-operation of Fourneau, Civil Governor of the Middle Congo, who was twice wounded in the fight. Contemporaneously Colonel Largeau, who was now promoted general, arriving from the side of the Chad territory, received orders to attack Kuseri, to invade that part of the Cameroon which forms the so-called "Duck's beak," and if necessary with the English to initiate a combined attack against Dikoa. Another expedition, organized at Libreville and embarking on the man-of-war *Surprise*, succeeded in landing at Cocoa-beach on 24 September 1914, while from Nigeria the English also attacked the Cameroon in various places, especially in the direction of Mora.

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The principal operations developed along the coast, and were initiated by a French and English expedition, commanded by General Dobell, and composed of about 5,000 men, of whom 2,500 were taken from the troops of French West Africa. The Allies with the aid of the fleet forced the mouth of the river Cameroon, and on 27 September 1914 occupied Duala. On 2 October Victoria surrendered, then came the turn of Jabassi, Edea, Bonaberi, and Buea.

The Germans, concentrated and fortified round Jaunde, long awaited the shock of the enemy forces. In August 1915 the French columns, operating in the east and south-east of the colony, continued the offensive already initiated in the direction of Jaunde. After numerous and sanguinary conflicts which had taken place (23-25th) they occupied Dumestaïen, and the Germans, surprised by this rapid advance movement of the enemy, were obliged to abandon into their hands important positions near Tumbo, and consequently the solidly fortified places near Mambimbu. They left a strong rearguard on the heights dominating the city to protect the retreat of the bulk of their forces on Jaunde, but the French attacked again and after obstinate fighting occupied the heights and made some prisoners. Having taken Dumestaïen and reinforced the new advanced positions, a light French column advanced between 26 and 28 August as far as Akone Linga, half way from Jaunde, and seized the town on the 29th, while the enemy was preparing to reach the northern territory in order to organize a more effective resistance round Jokó.

The operations of the Allies still continue, and everything leads us to believe that within a short time the Cameroon will be entirely evacuated by the Germans, who, in the interior of the colony had provided means of defence, rendered useless, however, by the impossibility of protecting the routes to the sea.

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German South-West Africa comprises a very important part of the high extra-tropical zone of South Africa. On 24 April 1882 the German Protectorate was proclaimed over the territories of Angra Pequena, north of the Orange river; in August and September of the same year Germany occupied different other points of the coast, and England with the Memorandum of 24 December virtually recognized as a sphere of German influence the territory west of the 20° of longitude and the 22° of latitude to the south. The new colony, known in a general way, was immediately explored with a view to commerce by Lüderitz. He, however, was soon to be displaced by the German Colonial Society of South-West Africa. This Society also encountered serious difficulties, all the greater that England, active in the search for gold-fields, was at small pains to respect fixed boundaries. At the same time a revolt of natives, suborned by an English adventurer, broke out. The German Commissioner, not having an armed force at his disposal, was obliged to regain the coast with the Colonists; but the arrival of a scanty body of troops sufficed to re-establish order.

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The Anglo-German treaty of 1 July 1890 restricted the boundaries of the colony, depriving it of the *hinterland* and confirming England in the possession of Walfisch Bay, which she had already held since 1878, and had annexed to Cape Colony in 1884. Even after the fresh treaty the troubles continued owing to the fact that the Hottentots received from Cape Colony support and incentive against the Germans. In 1893 Germany, wishing to put an end to such a state of things, sent a body of troops to the number of 340 men, who in 1894 succeeded in calling to account the most formidable chief of the rebels. A fresh revolt, that broke out in 1896, ended in the entire defeat of the natives; nevertheless since that time the possession of this colony has imposed on the mother country ever heavier sacrifices of men and money, due in great part to fundamental errors in the systems of colonization adopted by the various governors.

The colony lacked water, and its principal centres correspond to the places where water is found, and which consequently form important points of communication even in a military sense. Lüderitzbucht (Angra Pequena) Swakopmund, Windhuek, the chief town and seat of the imperial governor, Omaruru, etc. Railways are numerous; a line runs from Swakopmund into the interior for several hundred miles to Grootfontein, touching Omaruru at Tsumeb, another by Karibib and Okahandya goes to Windhuek, whence it proceeds by Rehoboth and Keetmanshoop as far as Warmbad, meeting at Seeheim the line which from this centre reaches the coast at Lüderitzbucht.

The forces at the disposal of Germany in South Africa at the outbreak of hostilities, counting the police, did not exceed 3,000 armed men; since during the last few years several garrisons had been greatly reduced. No sooner was war declared than the territory of Walfisch Bay was occupied by the Germans, and the British garrison made prisoners, while other well-organized forces, relying on the good results of the active campaign of bribery, which for some time past had met with some success among the Boer troops, attempted to invade English territory beyond the Orange State on 29 August.

In September 1914 the Government of London decided to entrust to General Botha, Prime Minister of the South African Union, the mission of undertaking in his turn offensive operations in German South Africa, with the view to constituting a greater Confederation, formally autonomous. A conflict of opinions arose in the Parliament of Pretoria during the preparations for the campaign, and in consequence some generals—Beyers, de Wet and Maritz—who had fought alongside Botha against England fourteen years before, rebelled against their former leader. In spite of parliamentary opposition, the arms of the Union were at first victorious, and advancing along the coast of the Atlantic on 19 September they reached Lüderitzbucht, and drove the enemy garrison into the interior, among those tribes of Herreros and Hottentots, intolerant of German dominion, fighting against whom the troops of General von Daimling had been so severely tried. The English successes, however, were soon checked by

treachery and desertion, General Maritz, Commander of the column which operated in Damaraland, passing directly over to the enemy camp with 1,000 of his men. Having in vain attempted a reconciliation, Botha dispersed the rebel forces in a few weeks; De Wet was made prisoner on 2 December; Beyers was drowned six days later when on the point of being captured; in the middle of January Maritz was shot by the Germans when about to surrender.

Immediately afterwards Botha's army resumed its advance into enemy territory beyond Lüderitzbucht; as early as January the British forces entered Swakopmund, in May they conquered the capital 237 miles distant from the coast, and in the early days of July the column commanded by Colonel Nyttrgh reached Tsumeb, thirty miles from Otavi, after having made 600 prisoners, taken some guns and liberated the English prisoners of Walfisch Bay, who had been interned by the Germans. The other troops of the Union, captured by the enemy, had been released by Colonel Brits on his return march towards the west. The unconditional surrender of all the German forces in the colony was now a question of hours, since the magnificent encircling movement achieved by Botha had rendered vain every attempt at guerilla warfare on the part of the enemy and had promptly cut off every line of retreat.

The ultimatum of the Boer general expired at 5 p.m. on 8 July, and the submission of Seitz, the governor, and of the German garrison was received by him at 2 o'clock the following day. This marked the

end of the most interesting of the minor wars waged by England on three continents, and the victory, celebrated in Pretoria with the same enthusiasm as in London, is important not only for the vast extent of territory which passed into British dominion, but also that precisely in South Africa, the Germans had worked long and patiently to destroy the bases of this dominion, inciting the principal Boer leaders to rebellion. They had hoped that, like De Wet, Beyers and Maritz, these men would have lent a ready ear to their flatteries; so that even Botha would have raised the banner of rebellion. Botha instead repressed with all firmness the incipient rebellion, and with secure preparation carried the war into the enemy's territory. England will know how to show her gratitude.

The difficulties of the enterprise, brought by Botha so successfully to a close, were enormous. His troops were obliged to advance for hundreds of miles into desolate, desert regions, scourged by the baking sun, swept by sand-storms, lacking water, with the few wells that existed poisoned by the enemy in his flight. But the rapidity and audacity of the invading army triumphed over the great natural obstacles as over the barbarous snares of the Germans, who, surrounded on three sides, were obliged to surrender, not being able to accept battle in the open field in conditions of absolute inferiority. The German troops who surrendered to Botha numbered about 200 officers and 3,400 men, with 37 field guns and two mitrailleuses.

Seitz, the late governor, and the Commander of the

colonial troops sent the following report on the surrender to the Emperor by means of the American Embassy. "We inform Your Majesty that we were obliged to surrender to Botha the residue of the troops, about 3,400 men, being surrounded by far superior forces between Otavi and Tsumeb, near Gaub. All probability of successful resistance was vain, since after the enemy had taken Otavi, Guchab, Grootfontein, Tsumeb and Namutoni, we were cut off from the base of supplies, and seeing the state of exhaustion of our horses, every attempt to force the circle was impossible. All persons belonging to the category of retired soldiers or prisoners remain at work in their factories; the officers are allowed to retain their arms and horses, and on giving their *parole* can remain at liberty in colonial territory. The active colonial troops, about 1,300 in number, retain their guns, and are to be concentrated in a place not yet determined."

The vast colony, wrenched definitely from German dominion, although abounding in sterile tracts, contains valuable mineral layers (the district of Lüderitz producing in 1913 diamonds to the value of fifty million marks), lends itself to pasture, to the breeding of cattle on an extensive scale, and has also highly fertile districts. In the coast region the activity of the *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft für Südwest Afrika* had widely and profitably developed its activities, and in 1892 the northern part of the territory had for a short time been conceded by the German Government to an Anglo-German Company.

East Africa is the largest and wealthiest of the German colonies. Along the eastern coast, and especially in the part belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar, German commerce had developed some time earlier (1840) and already in 1874, when the Sultan sought, though in vain, to obtain the protection of Germany, it boasted of a great superiority over that of the English. *The Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, constituted by Dr. Karl Peters in 1884, the year when the colony was born to European dominion, effectively contributed to foster the commerce. Peters, who was the true founder of this Protectorate, having landed in Africa, had within a short time concluded numerous treaties with the chiefs of the regions in the interior (Usambara, Useguka, Ukami, Unguru). Having returned temporarily to Europe on account of illness, he obtained on 27 February 1885 an imperial rescript of protection for the society, which, however, lacked a free harbour on the coast. This it obtained later, thanks to the protectorate of the Sultanate of Witu, and thus thwarted the plans of England.

The boundaries of the possession being determined, the difficulties of colonization arose; difficulties which were much more serious here than in West Africa, owing to the very character of the population, which, under Arab influence, had acquired a certain culture and considered itself civilized. The *Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* very soon developed a feverish energy for exploration in order to enlarge the limits of the zone of German influence, but not having

sufficient means of military power, it became easy to the half Arab Buschiri, a bitter hater of the Germans and head of the rebels, to obtain a long series of successes near the coast in the revolt of 1888. This initial defeat counselled opportune provisions which redounded to the efficiency of the German dominion in the Colony, in that the Government of Berlin was obliged directly to assume the administration of East African affairs. The Sultan of Zanibar meanwhile ceded to Germany, at first for fifty years dating from 1888, the region along the coast corresponding to that in the interior with the right of receiving custom-house dues, and then in 1890 in absolute and definite terms in return for the payment of four million marks.

Nevertheless in this part of Africa, as in the other African colonies of Germany, the natives continued to revolt, partly stirred up by the Arabs, who, supported in their turn by the Sultan of Zanzibar, feared injury to their commerce, partly driven by the behaviour and the methods of the Germans, who did not take local customs and conditions into account and conducted themselves as in a conquered country, parading their ownership. In 1890 the revolt, hitherto constant, was after various alternations of fortune quelled by Hermann von Wissmann; nevertheless, in the same year a treaty, drawn up on 1 July with England, determined the confines of the colony altogether to the detriment of Germany, and she was obliged to renounce a good part of the territory already comprised within her own sphere of influence

—Uganda, the Sultanate of Witu, the coast of Somaliland, and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar.

The delightful little town of Dar-es-Salam, an excellent port, was the seat of the imperial governor. The larger towns on the coast are Tanga, also a first-rate port, accessible to large men-of-war, Pangani, Saadani, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Lindi; and in the interior, Mpapua, Tabora, Neu-Langenburg, Muansa, Bukoba, etc. An important railway of more than a thousand kilometres traverses the territory from Dar-es-Salam to Tabora and from Tabora to Lake Tanganika, and another connects Tanga and Amani, and bifurcating half way, goes to Karagwe, whence it continues almost parallel to the course of the river Pangani as far as the source of the river itself, to Aruscha, near Mount Meru. A line had been projected, which from Tabora was to reach Lake Victoria, but the European war broke out just when, with the Colonial Exhibition at Dar-es-Salam, the extension of the railway to Lake Taganika was to have been ceremoniously opened.

The inauguration of the exhibition had been fixed for 15 August, and the Crown Prince had consented to be patron. The Governor of Dar-es-Salam, however, had already taken steps for the festival to be delayed to a more favourable time, when the news arrived of the blockade of the entire coast on the part of the Imperial British squadron. From that day onwards German East Africa, also cut off from the routes to the metropolis, has virtually ceased to exist as a German possession, but her conquest on the part of the Allies remains a sufficiently arduous enterprise

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and will demand the employment of fresh and numerous troops before it can be achieved. The German forces here in time of peace were about 3,000 men, the greater part natives, perfectly organized, and the British Colonial Office, taking into account the danger of invasion with which adjacent English East Africa was menaced, declared at the beginning of the war that it was necessary to defend British territory. Several encounters on the English and Belgian frontiers were favourable to the German garrisons, which now and then occupied important positions in enemy territory. They immediately abandoned the coast to the mercy of the English vessels, in order to establish themselves strongly along the interior boundaries, where their resistance is up to this day heroic. Dar-es-Salam was twice bombarded; on 15 August the armed cruiser Pegasus destroyed the powerful radio-telegraphic station of a range of 600 sea leagues, and on 15 December a squadron of torpedo destroyers worked serious damage on the city and the vessels anchored in the harbour. Several times the English sent reinforcements of Indian troops, and on 2 November 1914, supported by a squadron of small cruisers, attempted a blow on Tanga, the terminus of a railway line near the boundary. They met with a bloody repulse and lost about 1,000 men. Hitherto the action of some Belgian detachments, sent from the Congo, has met with no better fortune, and only in June 1915 were they able to occupy a small fortified post beyond the frontier on the north-east shore of the Lake of Kivu.

In the same June, however, military operations of some importance took place on the part of the English west of Lake Victoria Nyanza. A detachment having left the line of frontier which cuts the river Kagera, south of Uganda, crossed the region of the marshes towards Bukoba, situated at a distance of thirty miles, and here met another detachment which had left Kisumu by steamer. On the 22nd the two contingents together attacked 400 enemy fusiliers and put them to rout after a desperate fight, destroying the fortified houses and the other works of defence at Bukoba. For these operations Lord Kitchener telegraphed to General Tighe, commander of the troops of British East Africa, warmly congratulating him on his brilliant success, charging him to express his satisfaction to Brigadier-General Stewart and the troops who had taken part in the expedition against Bukoba.

The last episode of the war which is being waged with varying fortunes in this colony is the end of the light cruiser Königsberg, which since October 1914 had been bottled up at the mouth of the river Rufigi, opposite the island Mafia, and which was finally destroyed on 11 July 1915 by the monitors Severn and Mersey, with the aid of the cruisers Weymouth and Pioneer. On 20 September 1914 the Königsberg had attempted an incursion into the Bay of Zanzibar, had destroyed the British vessel Pegasus, in process of repair, and killed twenty-six of the crew.

In time England will be able to avenge those slain in the war and obtain compensation for her vessels that have been destroyed; in time she will

also be able to weaken the resistance of the German forces in East Africa.

* * * * *

The possessions which Germany had acquired and conquered in the Pacific, although not pledging in any way the interests of great capitalists, and being but of little extent, were of value as stations for shipping supplies, and of still more as guarantees of influence for the Empire in questions concerning the Extreme East. Of this particular action of German expansionism Kiao-Chau had become the centre, and the oceanic colonies were little more than the various stages followed by dawning German imperialism on its way to Kiao-chau.

In 1878-9 Germany established coaling stations in the Samoan and Marshall Islands, and in the Archipelago of New Britain. The British Australian Colonies, which objected to the commerce of other powers in those seas, took the opportunity when the German government proposed inaugurating the colonization of New Guinea to occupy in the name of England the part of that island not held by the Dutch. Queensland completed this act by declaring at the same time that all the islands, from New Guinea as far as the Fijis, were considered a natural dependency of Australia; the English government, however, did not sanction the occupation effected by its colonists. Meanwhile the *Neu Guinea Kompagnie* constituted with the aim of colonization, on being assured of the protection of the German Government, sent an

expedition, ostensibly for scientific purposes, to those islands. The expedition arriving in October 1884, along with two German men-of-war charged with protecting it, hoisted the German flag on the south-east coast of the island, and in the Archipelago of New Britain. England in her turn sent vessels which raised the English banner on several parts of the coast occupied by the Germans, and open dissension showed itself between the two rivals.

Prince Bismarck, however, succeeded in tidying over the matter, and in 1885 by mutual agreement the territory of New Guinea not belonging to the Dutch was divided between England and Germany. The latter received the south-east part which was henceforth known as Emperor William's Land, the Islands of New Ireland and New Britain, which took the names of New Pomerania and New Mecklenburg, the group of the Admiralty and other smaller islands, which were called comprehensively Bismarck Archipelago. In 1886 the north-east part of the group of the Solomon Islands (Bougainville, Choiseul, Isabel, etc.) was occupied.

By imperial rescripts of protection, dated respectively 17 May 1885 and 13 December 1886, all these territories were declared German protectorates, and entrusted to the administration of the New Guinea Company, which fourteen years later, in the Convention sanctioned by the Reichstag on 1 April 1899 ceded them back to the state for a sum of four million marks. By the Anglo-German treaty of 14 November 1899, Germany acquiring part of the Samoan Islands,

ceded to England the islands of Choiseul and Isabel belonging to the Solomon group and renounced her rights over the islands of Tonga and Niue (Savage Islands).

The colony of New Guinea was administered by an imperial governor who resided at Simpsonhafen (Rabaul) in New Pomerania. Important places in the possession of New Guinea are: Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen, the best port in the whole of the German coast, Berlinhafen, Konstantinhafen, Finschafen. In the Bismarck Archipelago, Herbertshöhe, Matupi, excellent anchorage, Miopo; in Bougainville, Herbert Bay and Toboroi.

Dependencies of New Guinea were the Caroline, the Palaos and the Marianne Islands or the Ladrões. In 1696 and 1721 the natives having with piratical intent reached the Philippines and the Marianne Islands, the Spaniards sent an expedition to take possession of the Carolines. Proclaimed a Spanish possession, these islands were neglected until 1885, when the Germans sought to occupy them in order to erect a coaling station. The question was submitted to the arbitration of Leo XIII, and was resolved by a decree, in which Spain was recognized as having a right to the possession of the islands, but which obliged her to organize a settled administration to protect the Europeans and accept Germany's request for the establishment of a naval station and a coal supply, establishments which Germany, in fact, renounced in 1886. After the cessions to which she was compelled by the victory of the United States, Spain recognized that the last re-

mains² of her former vast colonial empire had lost all value, and consented to cede to Germany what still remained to her in Australasia, that is, the Caroline, the Palaos and the Marianne Islands, exclusive of the Isle of Guam, in return for an indemnity of twenty-five million pesetas (Treaty of 12 February 1899, ratified 30 June 1899) reserving to herself only the right of establishing a coaling station in each of the three groups. The last Spanish troops left the islands in December 1899.

The Caroline Islands are all coral reefs, except Ponape and Kusaie, which are mountainous and rugged; the Palaos (Palau, Pelew) comprise only one large island, that of Badeldzuap (Baobeltaob) and numerous smaller islands; the Marianne (Ladrones) discovered in 1521 by Magellan, nominally occupied by Spain in 1528, became later a base for the Spanish galleys between Manilla (in the Philippines) and Acapulco (in Mexico). Spanish dominion rendered itself notorious through its wars of extermination and its ferocious acts of oppression.

All these groups were comprised in the sphere of action of the *Jaluit Gesellschaft*. Administratively they constituted three distinct groups, each under a Commissioner delegate: (*a*) Eastern Carolines with Ponape as seat of the government; (*b*) Western Carolines and Palaos, with Yap as its chief town; (*c*) Marianne with Saipan as capital.

The Samoan Islands were discovered in 1768 by Bougainville and called the Navigator Islands. Owing to their central position amid the islands of Oceania,

and to the fertility of their soil, they had already long constituted the centre of business for the "German Society for Commerce and Cultivation in Southern Oceania." German commerce prevailed over ~~that~~ of other nations. Germany, however, never having decided to proclaim its protectorate over these islands, offered England and the United States the opportunity of acquiring rights. The natives, solicited simultaneously by the three powers, split up into three parties, which gave rise to armed struggles and interventions (1887-8). In order to put an end to these, the delegates of the three powers met at Berlin, and in the Convention of 14 June 1889 recognized as superior local authority King Malietoa, entrusting the guardianship of law and justice to a supreme judge appointed by the King of Sweden, and the care of the administration of the island group—proclaimed neutral and independent—to representatives of the contracting parties. The disturbances, however, did not cease, and only in 1893, when the native king, supported by England, was conquered and banished, was a relative peace re-established. Finally with the Anglo-German treaty of 14 November 1899, accepted and ratified by the United States in January 1900, were all questions settled. England renounced for other territories all her rights over the Samoan Islands, which were divided by common agreement between Germany and the United States. To the first were assigned the more important islands; Sawai, Upolu and the Fishermen Islands, Apolima, Manono. And the Burgomaster of Apia in the Isle of Upolu was made Governor of Samoa.

The Marshall Islands had been discovered in 1788 by Captain Marshall. In 1878 a German coaling station had been established in the port of Jabwor (Jaluit). On 15 October 1885 Jaluit was peacefully occupied by Germany, and on 16 April 1888 Nauru was united to it in consequence of a treaty concluded with the native chiefs, who had met in 1885 in Jaluit. The Anglo-German Convention of 6 April 1886 recognized as comprised within the zone of German influence all the Marshall Islands, Eniūwetok, Ujelang, Nauru. These formed the field of action of the "Society of Jaluit," and Jaluit was the seat of government of the Imperial Commissioner.

All the German colonies in the Pacific Ocean passed into the possession of England at the very beginning of the war, for since Germany held no forces within them beyond small bodies of native and some stationary police, England, with the aid of Japan, made herself mistress of these islands almost without striking a blow. The islands of Samoa were occupied on 29 August 1914, and the Bismarck Archipelago on 11 September, by an expeditionary force sent by the British Government of New Zealand; Emperor William's Land between 11 and 16 December, by landing parties of the Australian fleet (formed of four armed cruisers, six torpedo destroyers, and three submarines); the Marshall Islands on 6 October; the Mariannes the day following by the first squadron of the Japanese navy; and the Palaos by divisions of the Australian troops; the Solomon Islands on 27 December; also by the Australians.

The rapidity of all these operations aimed at destroying all the radio-telegraphic stations, which were sufficiently numerous in these islands, and of depriving the German vessels in the East of their bases of supply. Of necessity in this action the Japanese took part. Having already their hands full at Tsingtau, it was to their primary interest to succeed in that object, and thus completely isolate the enemy. But very soon, owing to the jealousy of the United States, their garrisons also were replaced by those of the Anglo-Australians. On the other hand every Japanese occupation in the Pacific was published in London with the announcement, "British men-of-war were present." That sufficed!

CHAPTER IV

THE *PACHTGEBIET* OF KIAO-CHAU AND THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

Germany's settlement in the Bay of Kiao-chau. The main programme of German policy in China—The modern town of Tsing-tau and its port—Development of industry and traffic and Japanese competition—Ultimatum of the Japanese government for the surrender of Tsing-tau.

THE occupation of the Chinese port of Kiao-chau was prepared and accomplished under the direct influence of William II, and we may say on his personal responsibility, in the years 1895-7, when, with the building of the fleet, the new direction (*neuer Kurs*) of Germany's foreign policy was defined, and German imperialism was successfully able to assert its far-reaching ambitions over the great ocean routes and the great markets of the world. Hitherto the colonial policy of the government, contrary to that of the nation, had shown itself uncertain and almost resigned. Bismarck, the omnipotent man who, in the Conference at Berlin about the Congo, had created the new legislation of the conquest and partition of the globe, and had incited the other nations to carve for themselves vast colonial empires in order to divert their energies and activities away from Europe, seemed

to have unwillingly accepted the African and Oceanic Empire offered him by daring private initiative, and only in order to give some satisfaction to the new-born imperialistic tendencies of the country, and not from a real understanding of the vastness and depth of the movement. Indeed, Caprivi, an anti-colonial *par excellence*, had declared that no worse trick could be played him than that of offering him the whole of Africa.

But after his fall and the departure of Hohenlohe, appointed Governor of Alsace and Lorraine, the power fell into the hands of the colonial party. Germany immediately intervened in the Extreme East, and with Russia and France joined in imposing on the Japanese—victors over the Chinese—the treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), thus claiming a sphere of influence in China that secured equality with the other powers, and asserted for the first time Germany's determination to intervene whenever acts of an international character were rendered necessary among uncivilized nations, or nations esteemed such. "It must no longer be allowed," said Germany in warning, "that any power should hold itself so strong or independent as to subject to its own control an unclaimed land, without having first obtained the consent of the other powers and guaranteed them a fair compensation. Such is the first principle of *Welt-politik*."

In October 1895 Germany had obtained concessions at Tientsin and at Hankow, which were not, however, sufficient to secure her a position equal to that of

England established at Hongkong, of France, mistress of Tonkin, or of Russia, who every day more strongly fortified herself in Manchuria, and very soon gained possession of Port Arthur. Germany wanted a port, and the government by the mouth of Prince Bülow, at that time Secretary of State, put forward three reasons—to give the fleet a base in the Extreme East; to create a purely German centre of attraction and a network of maritime commerce, which would serve the interests of the country better than the usual harbour concessions, especially if there existed the outlet of a great *hinterland*, to protect the lives of the missionaries more effectually than hitherto by the continuous presence of German troops. This third argument was addressed to the Catholic Centre, which at that moment became the arbiter of German policy, the murder of the two missionaries having been the latest act that led directly to the occupation of Kiao-chau.

The expedition had long been prepared. From 1895 to 1897 the German Squadron of the Far East had made laborious cruises along the entire Chinese coast in search of a favourable spot, and technical authorities had pointed out in succession Amoy, the Bay of Samsah at the north of Fuchou, and Fuchou itself. The government seemed little disposed to plant itself in North China, although for more than thirty years Baron von Richthofen had repeatedly pointed out the mineral wealth of Shantung and the importance of the Bay of Kiao-chau, the only natural port of the long and inhospitable northern coast. Some official

report, however, had described it as too vast, too exposed to the wind, and too shallow for vessels of heavy tonnage.

In the beginning of 1897 an official mission went to China to examine from a technical point of view the different ports proposed, and Franzius, Director of the works of the port of Kiel, who was one of the commissioners, has given an account of the studies of his journey in a volume illustrated by William II. Since the conclusions of the Commissions were in favour of Kiaochau, negotiations were immediately opened with the Chinese government, of whom the German Government asked permission to buy the Bay and its surroundings. For this acquisition William II had been assured of the consent of the Czar, in a conversation which he had had with him at Peterhof in August 1897, but the Chinese did not seem willing to agree to a definite reply, and caused the bay to be guarded by troops.

When, therefore, on 1 November of the same year the murder of the two missionaries took place in the interior of the province, a murder for which the Governor was held morally responsible, by order of the Emperor four German men-of-war, under the command of Rear-Admiral von Diederichs, landed an expeditionary force formed of some squadrons of cavalry at Tsing-tau, and on the 14th of the same month took possession of the territory without any opposition on the part of the local garrison. The Chinese general, who had no thought whatever of an attack, caused military honours to be rendered to the

disembarked troops, immediately yielded up the fortress, and the Germans were thus enabled by means of the telegraphic line established on land between the Bay of Kiao-chau and Shanghai to announce the occupation; the Chinese allowing all telegrams to pass.

The occupation of the bay once effected, that is, in presence of the accomplished fact, China, weakened by the recent war with Japan, and now obliged to yield to every western appetite, was compelled for the moment to decree the deposition of the Governor responsible for the murder of the two missionaries and the transfer of many employés, to bestow a large indemnity in favour of the Catholic mission, and to promise the erection of three expiatory chapels at Shantung. The negotiations which followed led to the stipulation of the treaty of 6 March 1898, in which the Chinese Imperial Government recognized the duty of satisfying the just desire of the German Government to have, like the other powers, a base in the waters of Eastern Asia where German vessels should find supplies and material for repairs and armament. It granted on a ninety-nine years lease (*Pachtweise*) the entire bay of Kiao-chau as far as the limit marked by high tide, the two peninsulas of Lauschau and of Hwangtau, which form the entrance to it, also the islands facing the gulf (Toloschan, Tshalientau), and those situated in it (Tschiposan or Hwangtau, Yintau or Potato); and admitted that nothing could be done without previously obtaining the consent of Germany in a neutral zone concentric

to the gulf for a radius of fifty kilometres; it accorded Germany, in short, right of preference in all industrial initiatives that existed in the province, authorizing equally the immediate construction of a railway, and allowing the Germans the exclusive right of exploiting the mineral products throughout the entire region traversed by the railway itself, for a distance of fifteen kilometres at each side of the line.

The German Protectorate was proclaimed on 28 April 1898, and entrusted to a council formed of all the heads of the various administrative divisions, and of four members chosen from among the civil population of the protectorate. At the head of the Council was a *Kaiserlicher Gouverneur, Chef der Civil und Militärverwaltung, Oberst Befehlshaber der Besatzungstruppen*. The choice of the four members added to the Council was made on a system that permitted the principal makers of the protectorate to be represented. One was nominated by the governor; the second by the heads of the commercial houses other than Chinese of a certain importance, yet another among those who annually paid at least fifty dollars land tax without distinction of nationality, and the fourth by the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. This system made it easy to understand what were the requirements of the colony and the best way to promote its development.

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The administrative life of the protectorate having been organized, the main outlines of German policy

in China were immediately launched. If Germany had been established at Amoy or at Fuchou she would have been obliged to tolerate the English competition of Hongkong, and restrict herself to a forwarding trade, that is to say, she would not have had a *hinterland*, since all the internal traffic of the two great rivers of the south, the Sikiang and the Yangtse is directed towards Hongkong and Shanghai. In establishing herself instead at Kiao-chau in that northern China, hitherto so little disputed, she had secured the economic domination of a *hinterland*, where no foreign competition could prevent German expansion. Even had she only wished to create a place of exchange, a great international market without penetrating into the interior, the conditions of Kiao-chau seemed favourable, since although Shantung already possessed an emporium in Chefoo, it was easy to overcome competition there, owing to the distance of this port, which nevertheless has an advantageous position on the Shanghai-Pekin route from the commercial centres of the province. Hence the position of Kiao-Chau was in this respect much better than that of Chefoo; in fact for many centuries it had been the principal port of Shantung. Since the year 1200 the bay had been united with the Gulf of Pechili by means of a canal, now out of use, which following a natural depression, led from Kiao-chau to the neighbourhood of the city of Wei-hsien, the most important market of the interior. The products of the province—raw silk and silk stuffs, raw cotton, coal, dates, fruit and vegetables—were brought down to Kiao-chau,

which is now separated from the sea by a distance of ten kilometres of low-lying ground, but which was formerly a maritime town. The torrents which empty themselves into the bay have gradually filled the northern part, and Kiao-chau, removed further and further from its port, has seen its little commerce brought to an end. The opening of Chefoo as a free port in 1860 marked its ruin.

The Germans had contemplated the restoration to fresh traffic of the ancient commercial route, not to the advantage of Kiao-chau—definitely condemned by its own distance from the sea—but to the profit of the corresponding point on the coast, their own new town of Tsingtau, and in their turn to contrive the ruin of Chefoo. And the road was restored in conditions that assured them an immense advantage over the rival port, by means of the Tsing-tau-Kiao-chau-Weihsien-Tsinanfu railway. The German undertaking was supported and encouraged by the hope of one day dominating the entire *hinterland* far from Kiao-chau, that is Pechili and the rich mineral districts of Shansi. Owing to its railway Tsingtau was to become the port of entrance for all northern China, also because during the winter the gulf of Pechili is blocked with ice, whereas the Bay of Kiao-chau never freezes, traffic there is never interrupted and the harbour is well sheltered from the winter winds. Masters of the routes of communication in Northern China, the Germans would rapidly have succeeded in controlling the entire commerce of these provinces, for the economic dominion of which they were al-

ready taking steps, by monopolizing for national companies the construction of eventually rival lines, which would be directed to carry the traffic of Shansi, Honan, Shensi and Konsu to the basin of the Yangtse and the port of Shanghai.

This magnificent programme of economic expansion was proclaimed the morrow of the conquest by the man who had first drawn the attention of his compatriots on Shantung: Baron von Richthofen, who in May 1898 published under the title *Shantung und seine Eingangspforte Kiautschou*, a work the last chapters of which contained the entire plan of the future peaceful penetration. His ideas were taken up and amplified by other writers. "The acquisition of Kiao-chau" wrote Dr. Georg Wagener in the *Geographische Zeitschrift* in 1903 "is a speculation in grand style, which demands for its fulfilment not years but decades, and perhaps centuries." "One day," says the same author, "the Russians will construct the great Transasiatic railway, of which Richthofen has already traced the natural lines across the lower regions of Sungaria and of Mongolia. This line will be directed towards the large city of Singanfu and thence on to Tsingtau. The Germans will thus be masters of the eastern part of this great international route and Tsingtau will be the gate of entrance, not only of the Chinese province of Shantung, but of all Northern China and Central Asia.

To curb the flight of these bold imaginings, long before the European war, in fact in the beginning of 1898 an Anglo-Italian Society had prudently inter-

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vened. The Pekin Syndicate obtained from the Chinese government the concession of the railways of the Shansi, and with the Convention of September 1898, "the German Syndicate of the railways and mines of Shantung" was obliged to pledge itself against its will not to enter into competition with the Syndicate of Pekin.

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When in 1897 the Germans landed on one of the peninsulas that form the Bay of Kiao-chau, the coast was almost a desert. Towards the sea, round to the *Yamen* of the Chinese general, was an encampment which sheltered from 1500 to 2000 soldiers, but no real port existed. Li-Hung-Chang, whose attention had been drawn to the commercial importance of this spot on account of the negotiations carried on by the Germans themselves, had merely caused a temporary landing stage to be constructed in the open sea. A malarial village inhabited by fishermen stretched alongside of the bay and in the surrounding region was no vegetation whatever, the Chinese having indiscriminately cleared away the trees from this as from every other part of the province.

The landing troops consequently did not find any other shelter than the dirty and inadequate Chinese hovels, but the new colonists immediately set to work to transform this wretched spot into a most modern town, and with marvellous alacrity succeeded in a few years. Settled on the eastern peninsula, they drove away the proprietors, methodically indemnify-

ing them, then traced the plan of a huge city, the Hong-kong of the north.

Tsing-tau faces the sea and the bay. The north, where stood the former fishing village, is the populous quarter, the low town with great warehouses, workshops, and factories. The wide and straight streets are flanked by brick houses, roofed with tiles, which have taken the place of the old houses of *pisé*, and here the missions have erected their schools. In order to keep the native population as far as possible away, the Germans have built an entire Chinese village at some kilometres distant, for the coolies of the port and railways, and to the European population is reserved the southern part on the Yellow Sea. Here the actual city of Tsing-tau has come into being; a model of a small capital, furnished with every convenience and built in wide and regular crossed streets, forming square blocks, huge and solid palaces of granite, recalling the modern quarters of certain German towns. The vigorous and massive art, in vogue among modern German architects, has been imported to this extremity of northern China without any sense of adaptation. Consequently Tsing-tau does not resemble any other of the European settlements of the Far East, which are bastard towns, constructed by cosmopolitan architects bit by bit, according to the various requirements. This city, a product of collective effort of co-ordinated volition, has succeeded in assuming a truly national, a purely German aspect, realizing in its architectural composition better almost than any other, the most complete

and rigid European exoticism, the most deliberate and absolute attempt at denationalization in China. The palace of the Governor, the hospital, the public offices, the schools, the hotels, all bear the special sumptuous aspect of a capital, and on the shore towards the east, opposite a beautiful sandy beach, a stately quarter of villas, large and small, had lately been built to accommodate the numerous colony of Europeans, who now came habitually from Shanghai to spend the summer at Tsing-tau, instead of making the journey to Japan. Tsing-tau had also become a fashionable watering-place.

But all this was the luxury, the decoration, the outward form. The substance of feverish German activity at Tsing-tau was centred in the port, which is undoubtedly the chief work, and the work conceived on the vastest scale—a real European port, such as neither Yokohama nor Shanghai can boast, and where the largest vessels can draw up alongside the quays, whereas in almost all the other ports of the Far East the transport of passengers and goods must be effected by means of open boats and steam tugs.

The port is inside the bay, and a breakwater of almost circular form fifteen metres wide and more than four kilometres long, closes and protects it against silting. On the quay alongside the railway stand the warehouses belonging to the various private companies, and here centres a great part of the traffic; a second quay like the first, more than a kilometre in length, has been built at the end of the circular breakwater, where are the dockyards for repairs; close by

the Basin for careening, the floating docks, works unique in the Extreme East, and in which Tsing-tau rivals Hongkong and the best Japanese ports.

However much the Germans denied that they wished to make it into another Port Arthur, and in spite of the fact that the distance from the capital rendered it almost impossible for Germany to transform Tsing-tau into a veritable military base, the military importance of such a port was more than ever evident. The Reichstag had granted the first subventions to the *Pachtgebiet* of Kiao-chau on the condition of an exclusively peaceful occupation and the defence works of the port were for some years very limited. Against any eventual danger from China the Germans always showed that they placed more reliance on their able troops of occupation than on the forts; neither has the population of Shang-tung—absolutely peaceful—ever provoked serious disorders. Only in 1899, when the first railway was about to be constructed, was there some disturbance, but the presence of a small detachment sufficed to restore calm. Some years after bands of Boxers spread pillaging through the country and incited the population against the Germans. The missionaries in the province, the engineers, the employés, already occupied in exploring or exploiting the coal mines, were obliged to retire into German territory, but no massacres took place, and the authorities did not hesitate to send several bodies of marines towards Tientsin and Peking, which were besieged.

From the side of the sea the port had few apparent

works of defence, but many and excellent were the effective defences. In Germany the feeble defence of Tsing-tau from the sea had often been lamented—a defence, it was said, reduced to the two forts of the peninsula and a powerful battery placed on Mount Bismarck—but while in 1904 the expenses for the armament and fortification of Tsing-tau were only 500,000 marks, the budget of 1905 brought them up to 2,500,000 marks, and in 1914 they exceeded 4,000,000. The Russo-Japanese War and the painful position of the Russians at Port Arthur excited sudden anxiety in Germany; thence onwards the military authorities have neglected nothing to place the port beyond the danger of a *coup-de-main*, and since, owing to a curious arrangement Kiao-chau was not dependent on the Ministry of the Colonies but on the Ministry of Marines, the budget of the *Pachtgebeit* in this wise was separate from that of the other Colonies and almost dismissed from general discussion; the government had always been able to avoid public explanations on its policy in China. (We may remember Bebel's interpellation in 1906 to which Admiral von Tirpitz replied that it was impossible to defend Tsing-tau from the sea to protect it from a rising of the Chinese). The expenses of the military administration of Tsing-tau—enormous during later years—were therefore no longer controlled save in a slight degree.

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Undoubtedly the creation of an excellent and well protected port, such as that of Tsing-tau, shows what

spirit of energy and decision the Germans brought to their colonial enterprises. The young protectorate had already cost the Empire dear, but the interest yielded to so much capital was also considerable, more especially by the railways and the industries created in the interior, if not by the traffic in imports and exports.

A syndicate of bankers and merchants, constituted in Berlin in June 1899, with a capital of 54,000,000 marks, the *Schantungeisenbahngesellschaft*, obtained from the German Government the concession of the railways and the working of the mines. The preliminary studies had all been made already, and the works had not suffered any delay except at Kiao-chau, owing to the disturbances in 1900. The laying of the line did not even meet with any technical difficulties; it was merely necessary to throw iron bridges, resting on great beds of sand, over tortuous torrents and the longest of these bridges did not exceed 400 metres. The *Schantungeisenbahngesellschaft* laid a branch which, leaving Tsing-tau, the capital of the *Pachtgebiet*, touches Kiao-chau in the neutral zone and continues by Tsi-nan-fu, in the heart of Shantung, traversing mineral districts, the riches of which are not yet exactly known, but where important industries are beginning to thrive. The railway, finished in five years together with a branch to Poshau, was the beginning of the truly admirable development which Tsing-tau has achieved in sixteen years; the commerce which, by the construction of the Imperial Canal had deviated by the Gulf of Pechili, formed

new currents in the routes opened to it, and the line of Tsing-tau-Wei-hsien-Tsi-nan (at which point it joins the great railway artery Pekin-Tientsin-Nankin-Shanghai), was one of the most active in the entire Chinese net-work, so much so that the Company had seen its receipts prodigiously increase.

The working of the coal mines, conducted with modern materials, yielded abundant results, and was no less profitable than the railways. Foundries, moreover, had been established for the iron, which had been found adjacent to the veins of coal, and in this fresh source of wealth the Company looked forward to fabulous gains.

A silk industry had also been created. Previous to the German occupation, Shantung had exported a small quantity of silk into the neighbouring provinces; later, after the erection of a great dyeing and spinning establishment near Tsing-tau, exportation to foreign countries on a considerable scale was started. New establishments arose alongside the original one, and within the last five years the silk of Shantung with its bold German stamp has invaded every market of Europe. Other exports from the port of Tsing-tau are fruit, dried vegetables, skins, oil, straw matting, a little tobacco, two-thirds of which products are sent to Shanghai, whence they go into the interior provinces of China.

Direct commerce between Germany and Shantung had never been keenly developed, for the population of the Chinese province—dense and poor—lives with few requirements, on a fertile soil procuring objects

of primary necessity from the neighbouring districts of China and from Japan. From 1900 to 1905, owing to the railway, there was a large importation of rails and engines amounting to a total of about 25,000,000 marks, but this importation diminished from year to year and completely ceased when the construction of the work was ended.

A competitor more formidable than any, and of whom the Germans harboured not the slightest suspicion, had indeed from the very beginning profited by the German occupation to introduce with greater facility her own goods into China—Japan. She had had no initial expenses to bear, but derived instead immediate benefits. Cotton materials and matches were for the greater part introduced into Shantung by the Japanese. At the time of the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese imports amounted to half of the non-Chinese (2,327,195 *yens* in the first seven months of 1903) and a daily service of steamships ran between Tsing-tau and Japan. The war arrested this great movement, but immediately afterwards Japanese trade with Kiao-chau was able to resume and increase by an hundredfold the advantage it had temporarily lost. The Germans, who had succeeded throughout the world in supplanting the commerce of other nations, selling their goods at lower rates and anxiously studying the taste of foreign clients, were here defeated with their own weapons and by their own methods. Japanese merchants penetrated into every part of China (at Tsing-tau there were more than 2,000) and trading directly with the

Chinese without intermediaries, living the same life, and perfectly acquainted with Chinese requirements, were better able to dispose of western novelties than the Europeans themselves.

Establishing themselves at Kiao-chau, the Germans had hoped to escape foreign competition, and only some years after did the spectre of Japanese invasion rise to threaten and never more abandon them. They were then obliged to devise fresh means to avert the new danger, and they contemplated closing the port to foreign competition. In the treaty concluded with China in 1898, Germany solemnly declared that the port of Tsing-tau would be a free port for all nations, open to all "*ein Freihafen für alle Nationen*" said Baron von Richthofen in 1898, and as such it had acquired an enormous commercial importance, the different companies and private merchants being able to warehouse free of any tax whatever their imported goods or their raw material collected in the interior and intended for exportation. The Chinese Customs boundary had been removed to the frontiers of the Protectorate, the extension of which is nearly equal to that of the area of Hamburg. The Offices of the Chinese Custom house, established since 1899 at Tsing-tau, were nothing more than a forwarding agency, through which passed only the goods which came from the interior, or were destined for the interior of China.

A fresh convention of 1 December 1905, so ingenious as to cancel under the pretext of modifying the preceding agreements, suddenly closed the port

of Tsing-tau on 1 January 1906, practically if not explicitly, to international commerce. The *Freihafen*, which included all the German territory, had been reduced to a *Freibezirk*, which comprised no more than the basin of the harbour and the warehouses on the quay, and all goods issuing from these limits were subject to the general tariff of the Chinese customs; which caused Tsing-tau to be again included among the ports subject to the Chinese Maritime Customs, exacting the same dues as elsewhere; of such dues however, twenty per cent. fell to the German government, beyond the share claimed by Germany as a European power, and as security for property owned. If, on one hand, such regulations exercised a restriction on free deposits, limiting the exempted zone to the Great Port alone, on the other hand they served to incorporate the Custom dues of the *Pachtgebiet* with all the *hinterland*, and the advantages of the open frontier amply compensated for having limited the privileged zone; the more, that the German government reserved to itself the right of exempting everything that could serve public or military interest; machines and industrial installations of every kind, postal packages and travellers' luggage. To these stipulations were added others intended singularly to favour and extend German industries already established, or about to be established, in the dominion of Kiao-chau, stipulations which, if not entirely cutting off foreign competition, would tend to reduce it to a negligible quantity.

With these serious impediments placed by the

German government in the way of freedom of trade, one nation alone could concern itself, one whose immediate interests were directly hit by the restrictive measures of Germany—Japan. For this reason the Convention of 1 December 1905 had perhaps passed almost unobserved in Europe. Japan, the only true natural enemy, the, so to speak, geographical enemy of Germany in the East, had always considered the presence of the Germans at Tsing-tau and the German possession of the railways in the north of China not less dangerous to the independence of the peoples of the Far East than the presence of the Russians at Port Arthur, and the political danger was intimately connected with the economic danger.

From the war with Russia onwards the Japanese, gifted with tenacity and foresight equal to that of the German, and with an additional astuteness—discipline of desire—had never ceased to keep an eye on every movement of the new enemy, carefully watching his every step, favouring him even every now and then, the while intending to oust him at an opportune moment. But the Japanese never appeared to rebel against the overbearing conduct of Germany; they resisted her day by day with a silent, tenacious hostility, awaiting their hour of Tsing-tau with the same quiet and patient preparation with which they had awaited the hour of Port Arthur; and when the European war offered the occasion, more than ever propitious, for the longed for *coup de main* on Kiaochau, they seized it with supreme boldness in order to suppress the first European power that had dreamed

of becoming the arbiter of politics and trade in the Extreme East.

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Japan's war against Germany was limited to the restricted field of Kiao-chau, and after the surrender of the defenders of this Protectorate, Japanese intervention in the European conflict—announced from Tokio as a co-operation with England in the seas of the Far East—in conformity with the obligations of the alliance of 1905, played no further part in the action developed by the Allies in the other theatres of war.

The first and second squadrons of the Japanese fleet, commanded by Admiral Baron Dewa, received on 8 August 1914 the order to weigh anchor for Kiao-chau, and on the afternoon of the 14th the government of the Empire of the Rising Sun, by means of its own ambassador at Berlin, transmitted to the German government an ultimatum, which was communicated at the same time to the German Ambassador at Tokio. The ultimatum was conceived as follows:

“The Japanese Government requests the German Government:

“1. Immediately to withdraw from Japanese and Chinese waters all vessels of war, and armed vessels of every kind whatever or to disarm such as cannot be removed.

“2. To consign before, or on 15 September at latest,

to the authorities of the Imperial Japanese Government, without conditions of compensation, the Protectorate of Kiao-chau, in order that it may be restored to China.

"In case no tidings of unconditional acceptance of the above notification have been received by 12 o'clock on 23 August, the Japanese Government will be obliged to take such action as she judges necessary to meet the situation."

The very day that this ultimatum was presented, William II telegraphed to the Governor of Kiao-chau, Meyer-Waldeck, captain of a man-of-war, commanding him to resist to the uttermost. And the Governor replied, "I pledge myself to the fulfilment of my duty to the very last." And he kept his promise.

Meanwhile an official telegram from Peking informed Europe that China would have wished to recover Kiao-chau by her own means, and another more serious message, that Washington considered the action of Japan "one of the gravest complications of the war." Japan hastened to guarantee to the government of the United States the guardianship of the interests of neutrals and Americans, hinted also at the possible restitution of Kiao-chau to China; and reassured by the demeanour of England, who intended expressly to participate in the Japanese action against Kiao-chau with a detachment of Colonial troops and some vessels of the Australian squadron, the United States seemed satisfied with the promised restitution.

War was declared on 23 August, and the Second

Japanese Squadron, commanded by Rear-Admiral Yoshimatu, appeared before the Bay of Kiao-chau on the 27th. But not until a month later did the attack on the forts of Tsing-tau begin.

Germany had in that port two cruisers, the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau (of 11,600 tons each, with eight guns of 210 millimetres) under the command of a vice-admiral, and three armed cruisers, the Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Emden. The Emden sailed for the high seas, and was later destroyed on the coast of Keeling on 9 November by the Australian cruiser Sydney; the rest of the German squadron was able to co-operate in the action of the forts against the superior squadron of the enemy by successful raiding expeditions, which inflicted serious damage on the enemy and frequently hampered his landing operations. The land forces of the Protectorate numbered altogether—between infantry, artillery, and landing companies of marines—76 officers, 314 non-commissioned officers, and 2,375 men, to whom were added about 1,000 volunteers, who had gathered from the German colonies of China, and these disposed of field batteries and mitrailleuses. On Fort Bismarck, which commanded the city and the port, and on Fort Moltke powerful naval batteries of 305 and 210 had been placed in position, and forts Iltis and Kaiser at the entrance of the bay were likewise provided with artillery of medium and large calibre. The defence of the fortress, prepared beforehand, was completed by small forts on the land side, the better to obstruct the advance of the troops of debarcation, and if the resistance only

lasted seventy days (the real and actual siege, lasted forty-three), this was not due to lack of efficiency of defensive means but to lack of food."

The news received in Europe concerning the action of the Japanese at Tsing-tau scarcely allows us to reconstruct the various phases of the siege in its main outlines. It is certain that Japan brought into action the first and second naval squadrons and a large contingent of troops, equal to two divisions, and that victory was only achieved at a heavy cost of life. Warlike operations having been initiated, they were continually interrupted by storm, the energy of the navy was employed in protecting the disembarkation, at either side of the bay, of the two expeditionary forces, to whom was entrusted the siege by land, and of the heavy artillery, which was immediately placed against Fort Bismarck and the surrounding forts. On 10 September, while the bombardment of the city from the sea was at its height, a Japanese column occupied the railway station of Kiao-chau after sanguinary encounters with the advanced post. In one of these Baron von Lisenbach, Secretary of the German Legation at Peking, was killed, and on the same day Japanese and German aeroplanes took part in the action. At dawn on 11 September another column of assailants attacked the position of Wand-ho-huang, thirteen miles east of Tsimo, where the Germans were strongly entrenched, and here also they fought fiercely all the day, until the little fortress surrendered in the evening, when the Japanese took a few prisoners and some mitrailleuses. After these episodes the artillery

duels and the bombardment from the sea were continued, but for some time no further news arrived from this theatre of war. During the bombardment which the Japanese navy intensified against the forts, the German vessels bottled up in the port several times attempted sorties on a small scale, but were always obliged to re-enter. The Japanese had a mine-sweeper sunk, and many of the greater units seriously damaged.

Meanwhile owing to the grave anxiety awakened at Tokio by the obstinate resistance of Tsing-tau, the land troops besieging the city, already very numerous, were further reinforced in October by the arrival of new contingents. A column pushed as far as Tsi-nan-fu, the head of the railway line, which they occupied on the morning of 9 October, provoking great ill-humour on the part of the Chinese government. In Shantung the Japanese had by now landed a formidable army of occupation, far superior to the necessity of the siege of Tsing-tau. Fearing, as they did, a surprise movement from the Chinese frontier of the neutral zone, while attacking Tsing-tau, they wished to safeguard themselves from behind, and so occupied this zone in sufficient force to enable them to resist any rebellion that might be attempted by their brothers of the Celestial Republic. One of the usual telegrams from Peking announced, in fact, the threatening presence of the Fifth Chinese division (10,000 men) in the neighbourhood of Tsi-nan-fu, but no serious incident took place.

After the occupation of Tsi-nan-fu the Japanese

graciously landed a little army of railway employés charged with taking over the railway service of Shantung and the line, which by means of the new colonists was speedily working again from Tsi-nan-fu to the station at Kiao-chau.

On 31 October, from the Japanese capital, the decisive attack on Tsing-tau by all the besieging land and sea forces was finally announced, and on 7 November the surrender took place, hastened by the confiscation of the contraband food supplies ~~which was~~ made on the coast at Lung K'ou.

The surrender was preceded by a most violent combat, which lasted seven days. Tsing-tau, bombarded from the sea and by heavy artillery on land, surrounded by a circle of fire, which grew closer every day, still held out tenaciously on the morning of the 6th; two forts had been reduced to silence and the armed cruisers, shut up in the port, were almost destroyed by fire from the vessels, but the principal forts—Bismarck, Iltis, and Moltke—with rapid and precise fire, still fought the enemy's artillery efficaciously, inflicting enormous losses on the adversary. On the 6th alone the Japanese had 2,500 killed. That night forts Bismarck and Moltke were reduced by repeated bayonet attacks made by companies of the *Samurai*, and the Germans were obliged to concentrate all their resistance on Fort Iltis, the extreme bulwark of the heroic defence, all the more heroic in that the handful of defenders was, from the beginning of hostilities, deprived of all communication with the capital and never had any hope of succour. At mid-

night the Japanese infantry, led by General Yoshimō-Yamado, with great strength attacked Fort Iltis, always under fire of the naval guns; in the final struggle around this fort the losses were very serious on both sides, and two English officers were wounded, but the Japanese, able to bring constant reinforcements to fill up the gaps in their lines, the German garrison was overcome at dawn. The heroic *Samurai* renewed their memorable deeds of Port Arthur, and to their hecatombs of dead during the last week was due the capture of Tsing-tau.

At 5 a.m. on the 7th the white flag was hoisted on Fort Iltis, and a German envoy went to the Japanese camp to negotiate terms of surrender. These were concluded at the Moltke barracks, and in the afternoon the Japanese army solemnly entered Tsing-tau with a detachment of English troops who had taken part in the action. They took 2,300 prisoners, but not a single gun was found.

Tsing-tau having fallen, Japan's war was over, but in his message to parliament some days after, the Emperor clinched the ties of alliance with these words: "I am happy to announce that the friendship which unites my Empire to the nations of the Triple Entente are more cordially confirmed. The alliance with France, England, and Russia has been cemented in the existing critical circumstances by the strongest bonds of friendship. Peace has been re-established in the Extreme East, but the great war is not yet ended, and we count on the loyalty and courage of our subjects to reach the final aim as soon as possible."

CHAPTER V

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

Orientation of German Imperialism towards Turkey and the Conquests of economic penetration—First project of German railway to Bagdad and the successive lines ~~to Konia~~—Definite concession from Konia to Basra and the various financial and technical factors of the enterprise up to the tunnel of the Taurus. Colossal mortgage of Germany and competition of the other powers—English invasion of Mesopotamia.

THE trend of Germany's political and economic imperialism towards Turkey began to assert itself immediately after 1870 with the first military mission sent by Moltke, which was followed in 1874 by that of Roscher, and in 1882 by a third, more fortunate and more fruitful of results, headed by von der Goltz. Such missions, of a military and diplomatic character, seconded by constant and diligent economic penetration, both equally successful, were the early vanguards of that colossal mixed army of bankers, commercial travellers, and soldiers who were to transform the decadent Ottoman Empire into an enormous German protectorate, and in a few years to render Germany mistress of the great routes of the East, across the less known and less exploited regions of the interior of Asiatic Turkey. This was the informing principle of the Eastern policy laid down by

Bismarck and followed by William II, on the lines traced at the Congress of Berlin, and of which Germany was to become the chief beneficiary.

In fact, to the efficacy of the twofold military and economic action, which was being developed with admirable co-ordination of efforts in the political and commercial centres of Turkey, under the aegis of the Berlin government and with the consent of the Sultan, the direct intervention of the Emperor himself contributed not a little, and after his journey to the East in the autumn of 1898, planned and carried out with all cunning and solemnity, the hoped for results were not long delayed. They produced a widespread feeling of confidence in Germany, and an intense growth of German activity in the Ottoman provinces. We may remember the famous concession made by the Sublime Porte in 1902, for the exemption from all taxation of German charitable institutions, and the declaration of the Valy of Beyrout in 1903, which exempted German subjects—alone among foreigners—from the payment of taxes for the acquisition of land in Syria.

Such concrete expressions of gratitude may be reckoned also as compensation for technical and organic improvements effectively wrought by German officers in the Turkish army, for commercial increment brought into Turkish markets by German capital and for the establishment of banks, of religious and scholastic institutions, of agricultural and industrial colonies, which the emissaries of Germany had promoted throughout Turkey, evidently to their own

material and moral interest, but also to the undeniable advantage of Turkish finance and prestige.

The net spread by Berlin had therefore very strong meshes, calculated to grip firmly, and Turkey, forced into it by her own financial disasters, and preferring the snares of that net to complete and immediate ruin, was never again to escape. Consequently in the day of struggle in the open field, of unmasked struggle, sword against sword, man against man, when the most formidable economic competition reached a crisis and was materialized, or rather brutalized, by war, and minor competitions were reciprocally annulled in order to combine with the greater against the most oppressive, against overwhelming hegemony, the Turkish empire found itself to its own inevitable ruin, bound to the car of Germany, the appointed prey of the Allies in the final settlement of accounts. In the best of cases, and were Germany able to achieve victory, Turkey would more than ever become a colony of the German Empire; a Germany strengthened by conquest and prestige; whereas the defeat of the Central Empires will inevitably be paid in great part by Ottoman spoils.

But it was not perhaps fair to expect from the men at Constantinople, above all from the men of the Committee of Union and Progress, the vision of a danger so serious and immediate; a danger unperceived by much greater minds of diplomatists and politicians elsewhere. Neither has the hand-to-mouth policy of the last thirty years been an exclusively Ottoman prerogative. At bottom, yielding to the at-

traction of German capital, which permitted a certain show of independence to the Turkish Empire, and lent it the lustre of a certain progress, the men of the Ottoman state have averted as far as they were able the catastrophe of their country, or rather the day of definite liquidation, to demand from time new strength and energy, which they had vainly sought for in themselves.

This pleasing and comforting illusion was cultivated with an expert hand by Germany's ambassadors at the Sublime Porte (it is sufficient to remember one name, that of Marschall von Bieberstein). She availed herself of it in her work of subjugation and invasion, and preferably to any other Power, has been able to put forward requests and initiate negotiations, economically the most remunerative and politically the most effective, for the construction of railways crossing the regions precisely where the commercial concerns of her first emissaries had been developed, and with which in consequence it was now necessary to have the surest and most rapid communication. The Turkish government was induced to satisfy these demands for railway concessions by the possibility of deriving from them important financial gains as well as on military grounds, which the German diplomatists of Constantinople astutely caused to weigh more heavily than any other; the necessity of extending and improving military action in the vilayets scattered at great distances in that part of the Empire which stretches between Persia and Arabia on to the Indian Ocean.

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The colonial policy of the present day is a network of railways. Railways are the essential element, the raw material of every greater or lesser imperialistic movement of our time; first arrive the rails, the indispensable vanguards; then comes the clash of armies. To conquer the Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers began by disputing with one another its future railways, and the bitter diplomatic and financial struggle which was waged round them for so many years, to the almost invariable advantage of the Germans, was to be no more than an episode of preparation for the much more terrible war now in progress.

The project of a great artery to connect the Bosphorus with the distant valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates had been an object of study on the part of the English since 1856, but negotiations had failed, chiefly because they wanted to divert a great part of the traffic to Alexandretta, that is, to the Mediterranean and to a short distance from Cyprus. Subsequent French proposals had no better result, since it was feared that the line Adana-Mersina would have ended in absorbing the commerce of the southern regions; hence failed also the Russian scheme which was intended to compass Tripoli di Soria. The Porte was, however, pleased with the project of the German engineer von Pressel, the first to conceive the idea of the *Bagdadbahn*, and to propose to the Turkish government a vast system of railways, which from Europe and Asia were to make Constantinople the centre for all the traffic of the Empire, and to constitute the strategic base for the defence of Ottoman

territory, rendering possible a rapid mobilization. Turkey adopted this magnificent design in 1871, and on her part and out of her own resources began the construction of the Transanatolian line, which from Mudania, on the Sea of Marmora, *via* Brussa, was to descend to Smyrna, Konia, and Adana; and of the Transasiatic line, which from Haidar Pascià, was to proceed round the Gulf of Ismid by Eski-Shehr, Angora, Sivas, Karput, Diarbekir, and Bagdad, and thence reach the Persian Gulf. The Turks, however, being incapable of constructive work, the Transanatolian line stopped at Brussa, the Transasiatic at Ismid and von Pressel thus witnessed the failure of his scheme.

In the years that followed France and England long contended with the Porte for the concession to continue the line of Haidar Pascià-Ismid with Bagdad as its goal, without obtaining anything. More modestly in 1886 Germany, exploiting Anglo-French rivalry, initiated negotiations directed at obtaining the extension of that tract from Eski-Shehr to Angora, a total distance of about 600 kilometres, hinting, however, at the necessity of a future continuation of the railway itself towards Bagdad, with the aim of neutralizing the competition of the projected Russian railways in Persia, as well as that of the English lines of navigation by the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. Indeed, the aim in the near future was the continuation of the direct line, Berlin *via* Vienna and Constantinople to the Persian Gulf; in short, German hegemony on the ocean.

Dr. Siemens, Director of the *Deutsche Orient Bank*, to whom was entrusted the task of dealing with the Ottoman government, presented the completed project for the Sivas-Diarbekir-Bagdad line (which was called the north rail) as far as Basra, resuming the plan of von Pressel, but leaving open the debatable point of debouching on the Persian Gulf, to which England's opposition was well known. Turkey at first seemed little disposed to yield, and the Sultan was at one with the government, not only because he did not wish to stake the none too flourishing finances of the State, but also because, entrusting a similar enterprise to foreign capital, he feared having to submit to the influence of European Powers in the internal affairs of the Empire. Nevertheless, after two years of pressure and intrigue, Germany was able in October 1888 to obtain the concession for the projected line as far as Angora, with a guarantee of 15,000 francs and the promise of further extension, first to Sivas and then by successive branches to Karput, Diarbekir, and Bagdad.

The "Company of the Railways of Anatolia" undertook the work on behalf of the concessionaire, the *Deutsche Orient Bank*, and immediately began the construction of the new line: five years later (1893) it reached Angora. The construction of the Angora-Sivas branch having then been started, topographical difficulties and Russian suspicions counselled Germany to choose the more convenient route by the valley of Kizil-Irmak, which would touch the city of Caesarea. This new project was called "the Central Rail," but

the Angora Caesarea line, of which the government of Berlin obtained the concession in 1893 with a guarantee of 17,650 francs per kilometre, was never begun; it having been decided to leave Great and Little Armenia entirely to Russian influence. Thus the Germans ended by seeking in the "Southern Rail" the route for Mesopotamia, obtaining in the same year (1893) the concession for the line Eski Shehr-Konia, and at the end of 1915 the railway reached Konia. •

The following years marked the most serious crisis of the *Bagdadbahn*, now rapidly touching completion and too closely menacing English and French interests. William II conducted the diplomatic game, which was to assure him the victorious solution of the memorable crisis. With the most refined subtlety, he once more made use of Anglo-French strife to neutralize the jealousies around him, and did not disdain to proclaim himself the devoted friend of the Sultan Abdul Hamid during the days of the massacres in Armenia. Hence in 1898, having returned from his journey to the East, he was able to bring with him to Berlin, almost as the price of the brotherly friendship shown to the Red Sultan, the formal promise of the continuation of the line from Konia to Bagdad.

The official announcement of the future concession was received on 27 November 1899, and immediately the question of the great Mesopotamian artery was resumed between the representatives of the *Deutsche Orient Bank* and the Ottoman government. The negotiations, continually interrupted, lasted four years,

during which English activity rendered vain all attempts at foreign assertion in the Persian Gulf. Diplomatic means being exhausted, England, in 1901, in fact, occupied the district of Koweit and only abandoned it after having been assured of the fidelity of the Shiek Maubarak, in such wise as to have in him an instrument of her own against Turkey, to prevent the railway crossing the territory of the Negd, on which it was dependent. In the summer of 1904, British sovereignty having been imposed on the whole region, a permanent resident landed, thus putting an end to all possibility of reprisals on the part of the government of Constantinople against its rebellious province. On 15 May 1903, Lord Lansdowne asserted in the House of Lords that the establishment of a naval station in the Persian Gulf must be considered a very serious menace to British interests, "from which it is necessary to defend ourselves by every means," and his words received forcible sanction in the journey undertaken in November of the following year by Lord Curzon, Governor of India, to the mouths of the Euphrates. Escorted by four armed cruisers, he appeared in those waters with all due ceremony, solemnly installed the English resident at Koweit and departed, leaving behind an overwhelming impression of himself and of British power on the authorities and on the native population. The admonition to the powers interested in the Bagdad railway could not have been more menacing or more energetic, and the question of the railway terminus was at once put to silence.

Meanwhile the three representatives of the *Deutsche Orient Bank* concluded the definite convention for the railway itself with Zihni Pasha, Minister of Public Works, on 28 February 1903, without any allusion to the terminus, which was to be fixed in the future. Starting from the station of Zobeir the line was first to reach Basra. In such wise the common interests of Turks and Germans were to pursue their aim without offending English susceptibilities by any further advance towards the Persian Gulf. The Sultan, pleased with this solution, ratified the contract in the following July by a formal firman.

The "Company of Anatolian Railways" hence obtained the working concession for ninety-nine years, and undertook to construct the Eregli-Adana-Harra-Mosul and Bagdad Railway on to Basra, with a branch line to Smyrna; another to Mersina, and a third to Alexandretta. The total length of the line, which was to be a single one, was about 2,800 kilometres of ordinary gauge, but with the ballast laid in such a way as to allow of the eventual construction of a second line of rails that would allow trains to run at the rate of 75 kilometres an hour. The Company pledged themselves to preserve this speed for all military trains which the government might require at any moment: the State, in its turn, conceded the subsidy of 16,500 francs per kilometre.

The entire expense had been estimated at 650 millions, a sum which from the beginning had given food for thought to the *Deutsche Orient Bank*. Thus also General von der Goltz, not wishing to entrust so

heavy a burthen to Turkish finance and knowing that German capital was not sufficient to meet it, feared foreign competition. This, in fact, could not be avoided, since the *Deutsche Bank* was obliged to apply to the *Wiener Bankverein* and to several banking institutions in Paris, Zurich, and Brussels. Switzerland came to its aid to the extent of 80 millions, furnished by the *Schweizer Creditanstalt*; Belgium made a loan on condition of obtaining contracts in exchange during the construction of the line; France, however, was little represented as the principal orders had been given to Germany, and French firms had been excluded. More serious requirements, due to the construction of the first tract, to the partial acquisition of the line of Adana, and above all, to the colossal work of piercing the Taurus, induced Germany herself to sanction the acquisition of preference shares, and thus the Fatherland, while remaining in possession of the capital to the extent of 70 per cent. was confronted by French capitalists to the extent of 30 per cent. To the technical difficulties encountered during the execution of the works were consequently added no less serious financial difficulties, accentuated by the jealousy of the powers, bent on delaying the construction of the line; but Germany could not yield.

With marvellous tenacity she succeeded in buying back a good part of the shares acquired by France, and was able to disentangle herself from this ruinous participation, by granting France full liberty to start the Armenian railways. The single lines coming by

degrees into operation, would certainly have increased the assets of the Company and the former hopes of exploiting the valleys of Lebanon by the road to Aleppo, the regions of Cappadocia, the Caucasus and the Black Sea, and of absorbing the Persian markets of Tabriz, perhaps also those of Teheran appeared more legitimate than ever. Neither would local commerce in wool, skins, farm produce, and, above all, in coal and petroleum, be lacking. These last products will be a source of inestimable wealth to these regions and will always represent the primary economy on fuel for the railway itself, thus obviating recourse to orders and transport from afar.

Moreover, the happily worded clause reserved to the Company the right of exploiting the land for ten kilometres on each side of the line, admitted the possibility of promoting industries, intensive cultivation, and made provision for ulterior concessions. Hence, on the eve of war, after the works had long been started, and while their completion appeared remote, Berlin cherished sure confidence in a brighter future. The ten kilometres conceded at each side, it is well to note, only constituted the point of departure, since with eventual lateral branches, and still more with the foundation of industries and mines thirty or forty kilometres distant by railway, commerce would necessarily flow to the one and only railway line of the region. When, in December 1911, Winner, member of the Reichstag, gave a lecture on this subject, in presence of the Kaiser, to demonstrate that the Bagdad railway was "the backbone of Turkish finance,"

he asserted a true fact, pointing out at the same time that if Ottoman interests were safeguarded in form, Germans might be satisfied with the substance, all the more that just then they were achieving the total absorption of the remainder of that 30 per cent. of French capital, which so gravely menaced the free returns of the enterprise in the future.

This enterprise, however, surpassed in expense the most liberal estimates, reaching the fantastic amount of a million the kilometre, and the original plans had therefore to be several times modified.

The plan of 1903 had established that the line starting from Konia was to turn to the south of the Salt Desert, reaching Eregli as stated: it was then to cross or encircle the slopes of the Taurus Mountains until it penetrated into the district of Karaman, then to proceed onwards so as to touch the greatest possible number of important centres in Cilicia. The two lines—Konia-Eregli and Eregli-Adana, one flat and the other mountainous, were to be finished within eight years, dating from the time of the imperial firman. The first section, as far as Bulgar Dagħ, was begun at once and was soon working, nor did the continuation to Eregli encounter serious difficulties, so that this station was reached in the summer of 1904. This tract, however, did not correspond to the hopes of the constructors, since the places it touched were stagnant, and from an account of Vannutelli, a naval lieutenant, who was on the spot in October of that year on behalf of the Italian Geographical Society, it was evident that the stagnation of the line

was such as still further to aggravate the financial difficulties of the Company that had undertaken it.

The second section by the Taurus Mountains appeared so arduous that the engineers were on the point of abandoning the project of the route, in order to study instead the possibility of widening the famous pass of the Cicilian Gates by which the Egyptians, Alexander's Ten Thousand, the Romans and the armies of Solyman had passed. This plan would have involved a climb of 1,000 metres to descend again above Adana, that is almost to the level of the sea, and within a very short distance; hence at so rapid a decline as to necessitate numerous turns and many artificial banks in a rugged and rocky soil. It was preferred to make tunnels, the greatest of which ascended in spirals and measured at least twelve kilometres. But the progress of the *Bagdadbahn* was here arrested by the European war.

The laborious work of piercing through the Taurus had soon absorbed all the capital of the Company, as it had been necessary to overcome technical difficulties, by no means light, for the transport of machinery up the mountains, a difficulty only lessened by the acquisition (made with French and English capital) of the line—which hence became international—of Mersina-Adana. It had not hitherto yielded much profit, but the Germans have utilized it in order to bring a great part of the material coming by sea from the European continent to the feet of the Taurus.

The passage of the mountainous barrier of the Taurus is consequently unavoidable for those who

wish to enter Cilicia, and Cilicia cannot in any way be neglected. It is a plain 100 kilometres long by 50 wide, very fertile, of easy irrigation, and most remunerative owing to its intensive cultivation and its numerous factories, in great part German. The inclusion of this territory has hitherto cost a hundred million, and the line 150 kilometres long from Adana to Osmanieh was opened on 27 April 1912.

To secure a modest return for so great an outlay the German Company had provided a supplementary convention, in which Turkey bound herself to guarantee the payment of subsidy per kilometre, devoting to this end all returns produced by an increase of custom dues.

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After passing the Taurus the line was to follow the course of the Jihun as far as the Euphrates, and in the valley perhaps there might be found compensation for so many financial sacrifices, since the Turcoman, Kurd and Armenian population concentrated in the districts of Sis, Missis, Paraxerbert, and Zeitoun would have increased the transport of passengers and goods. Instead this project was changed again, and the plan decided was that in favour of Katma and Aleppo, thus achieving the twofold aim of remaining far from Alexandretta and joining the line to Damascus. A secondary line was in project from Alexandretta to Osmanieh, which was to measure about 90 kilometres. At Aleppo the railway was to meet another line already completed as far as Jerablus, 215 kilometres

long, which had been opened on 12 December 1913. As soon as the great bridge, calculated at 1,200 metres, over the Euphrates was finished, the line was to continue by Nisibin, without touching Urfa (the ancient Edessa).

This deviation gave rise to other projects for secondary lines; that is, one to connect the principal line to the city of Urfa, and the other to unite Nisibin with Diarbekir. The advantage of reaching Jerablus most rapidly was soon realized, as it would be possible to proceed onwards by river to Feludjah, and thence shorten the journey to Bagdad by carriage. From Nisibin to Mosul the line was to follow the valley of the Tigris, reaching Bagdad where the two Mesopotamian rivers approach one another, and passing beyond the banks of the Euphrates, to touch Kerbela, Nejef and Zobeir. At the station of Zobeir it was to bifurcate, thence a short line was to connect it with Basra, while another went down to the Persian Gulf.

Such was the grandiose plan of the railway when the works would be ended. An enormous undertaking, a colossal mortgage for empire over most fertile regions.

Nevertheless we cannot say that the works were continued with great ardour, and the competition of new lines would have ended in paralysing in some districts many of the advantages which would have been obtained by the rapid completion of the work, since from Beirut, Rakka, Aleppo and Damascus the French were already making desperate efforts to

attract the commerce of Mesopotamia towards the Mediterranean. New lines were further being prepared on the Syrian coast to facilitate the exportation of the products of Asia Minor, products which, according to Turkish aspirations and German interests, the Railway of Bagdad would have carried towards the Bosphorus and the Central Euphrates.

England, jealous custodian of dominion over the Persian Gulf, likewise feared competition in maritime transports, since if the mails for India were able to save three days on fourteen between Bombay and London, the 200,000 passengers who followed the Red Sea route, going and returning every year from the Mediterranean, would prefer the line by Bagdad. The London Cabinet therefore in good time requested the Sublime Porte to grant adequate concessions over the new line, already meditating a conjunction of this with the line projected towards Persia, Baluchistan, Haidarabad and the vast Indian possessions. The Turkish government, leaving to Germany the rights acquired as far as Basra, permitted England to provide for the traffic of travellers and goods thence on to the sea with an organic and complete service of transports on the Euphrates, rendered navigable as far as Meskene.

Russia naturally intended to share with England in the development of the communications in the tract between Basra and the Persian Gulf, prolonging the line which she had projected across Persia, from Teheran to Khainikin, until it met the Bagdad railway. But England, whose interest for the safety of

India is paramount, demanded that every other nation should be excluded from the Persian Gulf, and had already been able to obtain for herself exclusive concessions for this last most important line. We may observe that here the sacrifice of Germany had been merely apparent, both because Basra being in communication with the sea by the long navigable stretch of the Shat-el-Arab is already in itself a species of port, and because this city, as the last of the great emporiums of Mesopotamia, would always remain on the main line of the great railway.

To Turkey the Bagdad railway represented a communication of the highest military importance, providing for the most rapid displacement of troops, and being a connection with the three Army Corps headquarters already established at Erzerum, Damascus and Bagdad, besides the headquarters of Mosul. At Erzerum, the great fortress that looks towards Russia, Turkey had in fact constructed an entrenched camp of the first order, which to-day offers a marvellous resistance to the attacks of the Russians.

Germany, who always supported the Asiatic policy of Turkey, proposed also to take over the service of the quays at Constantinople from the French company that performed it, making it instead a service of the State. She well knew that it would be impossible for the government of Constantinople to run the service, and therefore took measures for it to be acquired by the *Deutsche Orient Bank*; then to be united to the administration of the Anatolian Railways, under the form of leases for a certain term of years, and the

service of the boats on the Bosphorus to be considered as an extension of that of the railway.

The struggle to preserve to the Germans the monopoly of this gigantic artery had also involved the service of a German line of steamers between Hamburg and Basra, and much labour on the part of the two consulates of Bagdad and Mosul. England in her turn had provided the Consulate of Bagdad with a small garrison of Indian troops, had sent a stationary garrison to the Gulf, had established steamer services on the river Tigris up to Mosul and on the Euphrates as far as Musseyib, and had added to her former, new consular representatives at Mohammera, Bushire, Lingah, Mascati and Bender-Abbas. Russia had started a line plying every three months from Odessa to Persia. France had maintained her Jewish-Christian traditions with the schools, the hospitals, the banks; Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Norway and Spain had sent numerous consular representatives and had opened commercial agencies at the places where the railway was to pass, and Italy, which in the past had been but little represented in these regions, in 1914 counted in Asiatic Turkey alone six consulates, one vice-consulate and fifteen consular agencies.

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The European war annihilated at a blow, temporarily though it be, this varied system of influences and mortgages which the great powers had gradually built up in Asiatic Turkey, suddenly transforming

the Ottoman Empire into a real and essential German protectorate (the Turkish government at present has its seat in the German Embassy, the Turkish army is commanded by the best German officers, and the whole administration of Turkish life is ordered according to the customs and requirements of Berlin), but it has not been able to nullify the exceptional importance which the *Bagdadbahn* is destined to have on the equilibrium of the world's traffic on the day of its completion, since this undertaking must be finished by one or several of the liquidators of Turkey.

Admitting Germany to be excluded from Turkey, as from all her African or Oceanic colonies, by the final victory of the allies, among the conquerors who may benefit by the direct or indirect territorial partition of the Ottoman Empire old and new rivalries will be centred more violently and perhaps more bitterly on the Bagdad railway. It will certainly be no easy matter permanently to reconcile so many and deep-rooted dissensions of formidable interests that now lie in ambush.

Meanwhile in this theatre is developing, unheeded by the majority, the greatest event of the colonial war; the British invasion of Mesopotamia. In the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, in England's advanced posts, Port Said and Aden, Germany with sure and powerful commercial penetration, with the political and military subjugation of Turkey, successfully freed herself from the slavery of Suez, and with direct economic and strategic weapons, attacked British

expansion at the very heart; the English route to India was more than compromised. England, therefore, found in the European war justification and means for arresting at a blow a movement which was growing fatal to the preservation of her world power, and on 17 December 1914 she proclaimed Egypt to be a British Protectorate, thus gaining absolute control of the Suez Canal. She armed herself for the enterprise of the Persian Gulf with tenacity and method, taking but little pains to inform Europe of the most happy progress of this particular campaign, considered by the government at London as a measure of internal order for the safety of India.

The English invasion of Mesopotamia has two principal aims; to strike a death blow at the work of German penetration entrusted to the *Bagdadbahn*, permanently securing to Great Britain the historic route to India, and to afford an outlet to the sea to the rich petroleum wells acquired by England near the Persian frontier. Now that modern fleets are almost exclusively adopting liquid fuel, we can understand the interest England has in securing adequate supplies for the greatest navy of the world.

The Expeditionary Force, formed with acute intuition, almost entirely of Indian troops, has proceeded successfully. Having occupied the shores of the Persian Gulf, these troops seized Basra on 23 November 1914, and prepared for the march to Bagdad, overcoming enormous difficulties and inflicting serious losses on the armies sent there by Enver Pascha. ~~We~~ may recall the bloody battle of Shabah,

south of Basra, where on 12-14 April 1915, the Ottoman army left several thousands of its best soldiers on the field.

After this battle the Indian army, constantly advancing along the Tigris and Euphrates, the legendary basin of Biblical antiquity, was powerfully reinforced, and at the end of the following July obtained a fresh victory at Amara, which cleared the way far along the route to the capital of Mesopotamia. In fact, during the months of August and September, in spite of the extreme heat in those regions, the English were able to advance more than 260 kilometres towards Bagdad, and we may say that the most difficult part of this magnificent advance over marshy land has been accomplished. The last encounters on the banks of the Tigris and round Kut have secured to the English a vast zone of dominion for fresh and most important operations, which cannot fail, and since between Kut and Bagdad the ground is level and there are no centres where the enemy, repeatedly defeated, can collect in sufficient force to oppose serious resistance, the conquest of Bagdad is held imminent.

No one to-day can doubt that between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean are about to take place events more interesting for the future than on any other theatre of the great war, and the occupation of Bagdad by the English will be one of these. It will constitute the centre of the entire new system of colonial equilibrium, which will be determined by the European war, and perhaps for that reason it is that the English wished to arrive there in silence.

CHAPTER VI

THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION AND THE METHODS OF GERMAN COLONIZATION

The Colonial Section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—The Colonial Office and the directive of its First Minister—The revolt in South Africa and the massacres ordered by Berlin—German Imperialism and British Imperialism.

THE great, the real colonial policy of the German Government, as we have observed, began after the nation, thanks to the manifold efforts of explorers and merchants, had succeeded in collecting on the African Continent the crumbs remaining from the sumptuous banquet of the French and English. It turned to the East and its fortunate conquests, which we have briefly illustrated in the preceding chapters, call themselves Kiao-chau and *Bagdadbahn*. It is no longer the nation that offers the acquisitions of its merchants to the government, but the government which conquers the markets, and guides, aids, promotes by every means the expansionist energy of the nation towards the new roads, smoothed by its own ambassadors and its own consuls, taking care everywhere to substitute for the ever changing game of diplomatic combinations the less fragile basis of

economic reality. It is well known that the work of the banks, of commercial houses, of the great and little industries of the Empire in the East had been studied, prepared and arranged in the Embassy at Constantinople and how the *Bagdadbahn* exclusively concerned the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. On the other hand Kiao-chau, as a fortified military port, was dependent on the Naval Ministry. Consequently the creation of a central organism of colonial administration could have no other intention than the government of the African colonies and the few possessions in the Pacific.

Germany's colonial policy in Africa had been initiated and imposed by the nation, by that titanic movement of expansion which pressed on beyond the seas, disciplining the young forces, the new energies of the country in spite of the government itself, which at first diffidently held aside, and only later and with reluctance consented to intervene with all the means in its power and take over the work of private initiative, as soon as the latter proved inadequate, substituting thus state organization and regaining lost time.

The greater factors of German colonialism, together with the *Kolonialgesellschaft* and all the other institutions of propaganda, which powerfully contributed to the colonizing work of modern Germany, had in their first period to contend with the serious difficulties created by Bismarck; thus also when gradually forsaking primitive conditions and the guardianship of private initiative they were absorbed in the orbit of

State activities, they found the two chief organs of the Empire—the military party and the bureaucracy—opposed to their development. Against the imperialist ambitions of the colonial party, the military party asserted that German policy should above all things be continental, that its task was now reduced to the preservation and defence of the prodigious achievements of the Empire, and that pledging the country to distant adventures, in which nothing was to be gained, its position in Europe would be weakened. The colonial party promptly proved that in such questions the militarists were the enemies of the real and great prosperity of Germany, whose human and economic resources called her to high commercial destinies beyond the seas, and the bureaucracy, increasingly intolerant of the constant and minute control exercised by the colonial party in the affairs of the State was accused of complicity.

From these conflicts, bitterly waged in Parliament and in the country, especially during the period that Count Caprivi was Chancellor of the Empire, disastrous consequences might have arisen for the cause of colonialism, had not the Emperor intervened in time. William II placed himself at the head of the Colonial movement, making it the object of his most assiduous care, and rendering himself almost personally responsible before Parliament and before the country. Indeed, the letter of 19 November 1889, in which he publicly expressed to the Duke of Mecklenburg his own recognition of the intelligent and patriotic action ~~of~~ of the *Kolonialgesellschaft*, may have

marked the advent of the colonial party as sole ruler of the fortunes of the German nation.

Hence onwards African affairs naturally began to prosper, and with time the crumbs became a banquet. Nevertheless the German work of colonization on the Black Continent, although valuable owing to the determination, discipline, and boldness of private initiative, was destined for long years to suffer first from adversity, then from the indecision and distrust shown by the imperial government; and, if African affairs had not such a measure of fortune as affairs in the East, this is in part to be attributed to government absenteeism in the first period of uncertainty and expectation.

We have seen that it was Bismarck's intention to leave the administration of the colonies to the great colonial companies, bestowing on them sovereign powers and considering them as vassals of the Empire. According to the intentions of the Great Chancellor, such companies were to be placed under the direct supervision of consuls, and being therefore subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was not necessary to create any central organ. Very soon, however, the various companies gave manifest proof of their absolute technical and financial incompetency to obtain remunerative results by their own efforts, and the government was obliged, in spite of itself, to take over the enterprises begun in order to prevent failures which would have been injurious to the prestige of the nation. In Togoland and the Cameroen the great companies never set foot; the com-

pany constituted in South West Africa (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika*), headed by Lüderitz, proved an actual disaster, tending to favour the robberies of a few speculators against the interests of the German colonists themselves, and the companies which settled in East Africa (*Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*), and in New Guinea (*Neuguinea Kompagnie*) were obliged to dissolve, the latter in 1898, the other as early as 1890, not only because they had not adequate means at their disposal, but because they could never count on the protection of a good garrison of armed forces.

The Government, having assumed the actual administration of the new possessions (*Schutzgebiete*), regarded its task as that of any other company, financially more powerful than those it substituted; it saw nothing beyond lands to be exploited, and was anxious only to burthen the finances of the State as little as possible. As such administration rendered relations with other powers frequent, the German government began by entrusting the study and treatment of the various questions regarding African possessions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Auswärtigeramt*).

The first step towards the constitution of an independent administration was made in 1890, when a Colonial Section was formed in this same department; but the discharge of strictly military matters of colonial administration was nevertheless reserved to the Ministry of Marine. For all colonial questions bearing on the ~~general~~ policy of the Empire, the

Director of the Section remained under the guidance of the Minister for Foreign Affairs; for questions strictly colonial, such as the internal organization of the colonies, he was bound only to the leadership of the Chancellor of the Empire under whose exalted protection it was decided to place this section. When the territory of Kiao-chau was taken on lease, the administration of this "naval base" devolved entirely on the Ministry of Marine. This latter handed over the direction of colonial matters of a military character, also devolving on it to the Section, to which was added a special military office called *Oberkommando der Schutztruppen*, deputed to carry on the work.

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Until 1905 no one ever thought of modifying a like institution; only as the work gradually increased, owing to the progressive development of the colonies, the personnel employed in the Colonial Section and in the *Oberkommando* was also increased. But the increase of the personnel alone was soon recognized as an insufficient and inadequate measure, and the imperial government, convinced that the existing organization would have to be radically changed, compiled a complete design of laws, which it submitted to the sanction of the legislative power. The moment certainly was not the most favourable, since the long, bloody, and costly campaign, which had dragged on in South-West Africa since 1903 against the Herreros and Hottentots, although it endowed things African with a certain popularity in Berlin,

owing chiefly to the merits of the famous *Peter Möors Fahrt nach Südwestafrika, ein Feldzugsbericht* of the novelist Gustaf Frenssen, had nevertheless furnished fresh arguments to the socialist party of the opposition, and to the still more violent party of the Catholic Centre.

The events of this campaign, which Prince Bülow called the dead point of German colonial policy, signalized the most serious crisis of that policy, and contributed not a little to hasten, at least in the intentions of the imperial government, the reorganization of colonial administration, transferring this Section from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs into a département by itself. Other reasons advised a greater independence to be conferred on the central administration of the colonies and an increase of staff; in the first place, because of the general policy furthered by the expansion, considerably more intense and organic, of the German nation outside Europe than had ever been intended by the Emperor, and also considerations of an administrative and constitutional order.

Administratively the reform was imposed by the new and diversified needs of the internal life of the colonies, the native element having begun to take part in civil life; hence it was necessary to provide for the different services; law, army, agriculture, commerce, religion, education, etc., for which every civil state has a separate department. It being apparently impossible to find a person competent in so great a variety of subjects, it was decided to appoint a technical division to each group of these said services: the

union of such divisions was to form the special ministry which would give the direction, while the study of the details would be entrusted to persons competent in each subject. Constitutionally the transformation was judged no less necessary, from the fact that the Chancellor could not be represented in the Reichstag, as far as regards colonial questions, by other than a minister or a secretary of state. Above all, a reason of purely personal order outweighed all the others. The Emperor had nominated the Chancellor of the Empire, entrusting him at the same time with the supreme direction of the Colonial Section, a personage of the highest rank—Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg—who had accepted the post on condition that a greatly increased importance and a larger degree of independence should be attached to it than in the past.

The measure met with great opposition on the part of the Socialists and the Catholic Centre, to whom the South African campaign afforded occasion for bitter and severe charges, but since the reform was strongly desired by the Emperor and the government, the discussion ended with the dissolution of the Reichstag (13 December 1906). The Socialists saw in the creation of a Secretary of State for the Colonies serious dangers for the country, since owing, they said, to the fact of his being independent, the Secretary would take upon himself to treat colonial questions as apart from the general policy of the Empire, aiming rather at increasing the importance of his own office, with the additional risk of offending the sus-

ceptibilities and interests of some foreign power and of provoking conflicts more or less dangerous. Bebel even prophesied that the military organism, which would form one of the divisions of the new ministry, would in its turn be the threatening germ of a sanctioned ministry of colonial war, and of a colonial army raised in view of armed international conflicts, especially with England.

Such arguments and others, of which the opponents of the proposed laws availed themselves, found an able and combative opponent in the new Director of the Colonial Section, Bernhard Dernburg, who in the following year was to become the first Minister for the Colonies, and who had already been Director of the *Darmstaedter Bank*. Born in 1865 at Darmstadt, he was forty-one years old when he was called to this high office. While very young he had been employed in the house of Thalmann and Co., of New York; he then entered the *Deutsche Bank*, which made him Director of the *Treuhand Gesellschaft*. In this capacity he had the task of re-organizing the Mortgage Banks of Prussia and Pomerania, and the ability which he displayed in this so delicate and difficult task, as also in the treatment of various questions dealing with the mines in South Africa, where the *Treuhand* had business relations with the firm of Garz, were sufficient to point him out for government office.

Placed at the head of colonial affairs he seemed to consider the Colonial Office as a commercial house and German colonization in Africa has always been dominated by this initial mistake as by a fatal original

sin. At bottom Dernburg, who is nevertheless known as the restorer of German colonial policy in the Dark Continent, did no more than follow on a larger scale, and with the aid of greater financial means and strong military contingents the example of his predecessors; we now see with what results.

The Reichstag having been dissolved, as has been said, and the General Election announced, the new national representation appeared more favourable to the designs of the Emperor, and the colonial reform proposed was finally approved (3 May 1907). The erection of the Colonial Section into an autonomous institution took place by imperial ordinance on 17 May 1907, and Dernburg was called to direct the fortunes of the new ministry, which a year later was numbered among the supreme administrative organs of the State (Imperial decree of 24 April 1908). It was constituted in four divisions; (*a*) political affairs, general administration, justice; (*b*) finance, real estate, communications, technical questions; (*c*) matters regarding the staff; (*m*) military administration and command of the colonial troops.

Apparently, the distribution of affairs in the new Ministry of the Colonies was made according to the nature of the said affairs, and not according to the colonies, as is customary in England. By this Germany showed once more that she did not wish to create true and actual colonies, increasingly bound to the mother country by truly imperial ties, but was satisfied to bestow a wider organization free from indiscreet controls to those narrow commercial systems

of intensive exploitation of colonial lands; systems which in East and South West Africa provoked the most sanguinary revolts.

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It is superfluous to-day, while we look on shuddering at the martyrdom of Belgium, to give particulars of the methods of colonization practised by Germany in South Africa, in order to ascertain how the Germans, such capable directors of banks and conquerors of markets, are, owing to defects of race, unfitted for colonization; colonization, that is to say, considered as a work of education and elevation of barbarous races. Wherever the Germans have a mission to fulfil, otherwise than one founded on a banking system, on some commercial stake, or on some barrack regulation, a mission of a moral nature that ought to prevail over brutal commercial advantage, they show themselves devoid of all elementary gift of intuition, of all capacity for adaptation and government; theirs alone the power to crush and to suppress. And to civilize even the country of the Hottentots, it is not enough to substitute for entire populations murdered, railways and machines; neither is it lawful, after so many years of colonial experience in Africa, to propose to treat with like measures the natives of Damaraland and the Arabs of the coast of East Africa. -

Not but that the question of the natives has in its time interested and absorbed students of the colonization question in Germany. Dernburg asserted that the native was the most important factor in coloniza-

tion; the natives furnish in great part the labourers in the colonies, it is necessary therefore to treat them well, to educate them and to lead them slowly towards European civilization. Dernburg himself, in words, banished all the former systems of destruction and extermination, inculcating new systems of preservation; and undoubtedly at first German public opinion showed itself favourable to this teaching and to methods of gentleness, patience, and almost paternal indulgence towards the natives. Later, however, this policy of the moral and material elevation of the negro seemed ineffective and pernicious to the Germans, and they determined to adopt methods of the opposite extreme, wholesale massacres with results apparently better, but effectively injurious to the development of native life in the colonies.

After a short idyllic period with the natives, the colonizing policy of Germany, which in matters immediately and directly concerned with the traffic and the interests of the German colonists, with capitalistic exploitation of the colonies, had so greatly profited by the experience of others, recognized in its relations with the natives, no other law than the impulse of brutality, the government of extermination. Men, when they were not killed, were exploited by every means in the same measure as the soil. The Germans required markets, they had not time to waste in civilizing the negro; and the negro who would not suffer the exploitation of the German colonist was useless. It was therefore necessary to suppress the native, to make a *tabula rasa*, according to the advice of the

Duke of Mecklenburg, and to substitute everywhere in his place the European colonist.

Firm in this intention, and ambitious of one day teaching colonization even to the English, whose example they had in vain striven to imitate, the Germans intended to spare neither troops nor money to realize their aim to the utmost possible limit, and order was in time re-established in all the colonies—as to-day in Belgium. Bismarck had been right; the Germans would never become good colonists, in the sense of civilizers, and not only because they did not understand the art of making themselves liked. They knew the art of becoming admirable merchants even in African lands, and in spite of the hard subjection in which they always held the native races, in spite of the unrelaxing hostility which their authority had always aroused, and in spite of their first reverses, with magnificent perseverance have they succeeded in creating markets and commercial centres more than prosperous, and the crumbs of Africa collected by the Germans and placed at interest, will ever remain a surprising work, an investment of capital almost without equal.

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But a colonial empire, constituted and ruled like a commercial house, must fatally lack that which is the only foundation of imperial reality; those merchant rulers were devoid of true moral force of civilization, beyond machinery and banks, and at the first shock

were obliged to yield; and the natives, far from taking sides with the German garrison in the defence of the invaded territories, received their enemies as liberators.

Suffice it to quote a comparison that may make us proud. Italian colonization in Africa is of no less recent date than German, and if Germany has had the crumbs, we had the last remains of the refuse. We must admit that a colony such as our Benadir, not to speak of Erythrea, in the hands of the Germans would have yielded vast wealth, and it is here superfluous to describe the reasons of our failure to exploit the country—a work that is reserved for the future. Nevertheless in thirty years of dominion, Germany, great as she is, promoter of commerce and traffic, has not succeeded in any of her African colonies in raising the smallest native army on which she could rely, and each fresh attempt to attain this aim has proved a failure. We instead, in a few years, and with our well-known scanty means, have been able to vitalize that body of Erythrean Ascars and Somalis into a model of a colonial army, envied by England, a magnificent proof of the gift of imperialist colonization with which our race is endowed.

The civilizing qualities of a colonizing people may be measured by the steadfastness and devotion of the native armies which they have been able to raise, more than by the increase of traffic or the mileage of railway, and in the present war the colonial armies of England have given the measure of the colossal work of colonization and civilization achieved by the English

people, better than any hitherto furnished by statistics of their traffic and their markets.

The campaign conducted by General Louis Botha in South Africa is an example of loyalty unequalled in the colonial history of the world, and is the most veritable triumph of the methods of government on which British Imperialism is founded. And besides its material and strategic value, it is of the highest moral value as showing how the European war instead of shattering—according to pan-German wishes—the unity of the British Empire, instantaneously strengthened all the links of the great family of nations of the British Empire, and has developed throughout those colonies a proud and sure imperial conscience, revealing that loyalty so proudly sung by Kipling, and which to-day fills the English with lawful satisfaction. Canada, Australia, India, South Africa and the other colonies, not summoned to decide on the necessity of war, have nevertheless accepted it with enthusiasm and are engaged in the struggle, giving their all, day by day, men and money, vessels and hospitals, because they know that the present war is an imperial war, and that their safety and their freedom as living and autonomous nations depend on the greatness and on the preservation of the Empire; autonomy, liberty, independence, but within the confines of the Empire.

We shall not here touch on the problems, certainly not easy, that England will have to solve after the war in the new adjustment of her colonial world; it is enough to observe that the war has again revealed

the sound construction and the essential harmony of the enormous colonial structure, and has reinvigorated the colonial strength of England. The propaganda of decentralists and republicans, under which pan-Germanism tried to cloak both its greed and treachery among the Boers, as in Canada and India, have not availed in the least, and the German colonial system, so young in years, ever remains the oldest system, because the most tyrannic, the most oppressive and illiberal, as opposed to the English—liberal *par excellence*.

It (the German) represents the intensive exploitation of the colony to the detriment of the native population, and is nothing but a derivation of the rigid mercantile organization created by the Dutch, and already supplanted by England—yesterday as to-day; by methods of greater commercial liberty and of a monopolization, which with the progress in the scale of civilization in the colony has gradually become less severe. The Dutch dedicated themselves more particularly to the great monopoly of spices, and in order that this might not escape from their hands, organized a mercantile government, suspicious, vigilant and exclusive, which did not admit foreign vessels into their ports, except under vexatious control and restrictions. They destroyed all the pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg and clove trees, the production of which exceeded the normal consumption, in order to maintain high prices. Germany, as far as she has been able, has acted even worse, and in the colonies under her direct control, as in Turkey, in

tended to base the power of her industries and her commerce on the exclusive monopoly of the markets.

It was therefore predestined that the colossus with the feet of clay should be overthrown at the first shock.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE OF GERMANY AND ITALY

The great war and the end of the German Colonial Empire—England arbitress of the destinies of the world and the colonial interests of Italy—Old questions to be settled and new compensations to be allotted—The inheritance of Austro-German mortgages in the Ottoman Empire, and Italy's rights in the future settlement of the Eastern Mediterranean—The Far East and the Yellow Peril.

THE participation of England in the European conflict has determined the almost immediate ruin of the great work of colonization which Germany had achieved with such rapidity and success during the last thirty years. The destruction of an entire colonial empire, four times larger than the mother country, in the course of a few months, is due to the English, aided by the French and the Japanese. From the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, from the waters of China to the Australian Archipelagoes, wherever the organization of great German houses was seconded—although tardily and not always with watchful care—by diplomatic and military action, wherever Germany had succeeded by ponderous activity and tenacity in creating colonies, commercially flourishing, the German flag has been forced to lower itself before the guns of the Allied squadrons.

Naturally the expansion of the colonial dominion of a people presupposes and follows the increase of its maritime power; but when the colonizing nation is forced to abandon the sea routes to the mercy of the adversary and the entire fleet is obliged to limit its activities to the defence of its native coast, avoiding encounters in the open sea, dominion over its colonies comes to an end, all possibility of defence having vanished, and its maritime commerce is likewise arrested. Hence the resignation of the German people in the colonial field has been most easy.

From day to day since the beginning of the war, people at Berlin have learnt with ostentatious tranquillity of the loss of such vast and valuable dominions, as represented nevertheless the chief conquest of modern Germany for the realization of the imperial dream of William II; and we certainly cannot say that the future fortunes of the colonial power of the German nation, like those of its economic and maritime power, have been decided on the oceans and the coasts of Africa and Asia. The loss nevertheless is enormous, and since the conflict in the North Sea and on the fields of Europe will inevitably lead to the gradual exhaustion of the forces of the Central Empires and consequently to their defeat, it is even now allowable to speak of a colonial inheritance which Germany will leave to the conquerors, and which, owing to its very origin and to the general aspect of the great war now being fought, is, as it were, the stake for which William II challenged Europe.

For it is well to observe that the present war is

single in its grim purpose and in its absolute finality. Although each of the continental nations belonging to the anti-German coalition is fighting its own war of redemption and defence, independently of the other nations, not only militarily, owing to the diversity, separation and distance of its theatres, but also politically, owing to its different motives and aims, yet there is a deep-rooted connection and an intimate tie which unites all these minor wars in a single great war against German imperialism, apart from which the special war of each nation would neither be conceivable nor possible.

The common danger which has united England, France, Russia and Italy (not to speak of Serbia and Belgium), in spite of innumerable differences and divergencies of their varied interests, is one of those terrific dangers which in every century has menaced Europe, and has engendered beyond the little secondary wars of dynasties or boundaries, those which we may call the great centenary wars. From century to century in this old continent of ours, never settled or pacified by reason of its own prodigious vitality, a centre has been formed—which is removed from one state to another, from one race to another, from one social type to another of more invading energy, of ambition to dominate or conquer, which invariably ends in seeking its own satisfaction by means of a more powerful organization, political and military. Thus it was in the Spain of Charles V in the sixteenth century, with the France of Louis XIV in the seventeenth, with that of Napoleon in the nineteenth;

but each time that this hegemony has been asserted, Spanish or French, Bourbon or Napoleonic, the reaction of other nations, of other states has never failed; and from it have arisen those long and terrible wars, which although giving to the predominant nation the glory of early spectacular victories have always ended in its final exhaustion and defeat.

England has each time been at the head of the greater anti-hegemonic coalitions, the mistress of the seas, who, in her insularity, developing powerful energies of expansion on new colonial continents, has ever kept watch over the European continent to prevent—just as to-day—the resistance opposed to the insolence of preponderant militarism from being crushed. Like Spain with the energies of her military and religious passion and the imperial resources of Charles V; like France with the organization and centralization of Louis XIV, then with the revolutionary passion unbridled within and loosed abroad by the genius of Napoleon; so modern Germany with militarist spirit of the *junker* caste, with the commercial avidity of the great leaders of her finance and her industry, with the technical capacity revealed even in her socialism, and in the fantastic mysticism of William II, has come forward lately for the great challenge, for the great effort of the hegemony of Europe, which would bring with it the dominion of the world. And this time Europe, headed again by England, has arisen against the dark peril and will undoubtedly crush it, for Europe fortunately cannot be conquered and reduced to the level of a China.

Let us understand; to remove the danger does not mean to efface Germany from the map of Europe, for Germany is an essential element of the balance of power; but to destroy the warring element, and spirit of conquest typified by the tyranny of Prussian militarism and German expansionism. And since the conclusion of peace, however disastrous to the German Austrian and Turkish coalition, can never exclude Germany from her national confines, it is logical to foresee that the price of victory, in so far as it concerns Germany, will be almost entirely paid by that colonial empire, in which she has come to realize more directly and systematically the very advent of her own ambitions and of her strength, the primary cause of the formidable contest.

This much is certain; the victory of the Allies will deprive Germany of all her colonies and colonial mortgages.

The colonial mortgages have all been centred in Asiatic Turkey; in a field, that is, where the Allied nations (England, France, Russia and Italy) has each also mortgages of her own, preconstituted, historic, political and economic rights, and these form a presumption, broadly speaking, of the share which may await each one when the mortgages will change hands or will become zones of influence, or again be transformed into real and actual colonies. Alongside these colonial mortgages, which we shall now examine with the brevity imposed by the limits of our work, Germany leaves in Africa colonies of direct dominion on which no real mortgage existed prior to the war.

How and among whom will these colonies be divided? Will they be considered the common patrimony of conquest, spoils of war, to which each of the Allied nations has an equal right in the division of the prey, or will they remain to the actual possessors? Will they in short be the fund of compensation for the common victories, or will their final lot be determined by the banner which first supplanted that of Germany?

This is a problem not easy of solution, while the war lasts, but of undoubted interest for the future colonial destinies of the Italian nation. Since we believe that the immediate end of the particular war waged by us in the greater war—that is to say—the reintegration of our historic boundaries and absolute dominion of the Adriatic—has not made our government forget the tutelage of the paramount interests which Italy has in the Eastern Mediterranean likewise, it cannot either make us neglect in so solemn a moment in the history of the entire world our African interests, already so trampled on, alas! by enemy and friendly nations, nor make us lose a favourable occasion to affirm even in the seas of the Far East, on the way to the future international competitions which this great war is preparing, our participation and prestige as a great power.

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We have said that each nation of the anti-German coalition in the universal war is fighting its own national war, which has its private reasons and ends. There is one nation, however, the reasons and aims

of whose own war coincide with the reasons and aims of the universal war, whose own military interest is at this moment the military interest of all the Allies—England. In saying that the nations of the Entente are all fighting for England, we say what is strictly true, but it is necessary to add also that England is fighting for all the nations of the Entente together. The absolute dominion of the seas, which she alone can guarantee is to-day and will be to-morrow the principal factor in the victories of the Allies over Germany.

To-day, in fact, on the anniversary of the first declaration of war of the continental nations who are fighting against the Austro-Germans, Italy alone can assert that she is victorious within her own theatre of war both at sea and on land, while Germany is still the victorious nation, owing to the positions occupied in enemy territory both in France and Russia. Nevertheless she can never profit by any of these her own special victories at the end of the war which she is fighting throughout the world, because prevented by the British Colossus.

In short, the great war to-day is really between Germany and England; hence Germany must fatally succumb. Her excessive military power, which has stretched forth the gigantic tentacles of its armies into France and Russia, is at present, thanks to England, a pent-up force, and consequently condemned to exhaust itself and come to an end, a force that cannot effect anything against the British Isles. The power of England instead is omnipresent and intangible, since

from the sea it dominates the continent, and is present on every sea, there where Germany cannot compete, where she can achieve nothing more than the imperceptible injury inflicted by her petty treachery, and where above all every means of recuperation is for ever closed to her. A war of blockade and resistance is this, which England is fighting, fighting the most decisive struggle almost without fighting at all, but in which her intervention has closed and soldered the besieging circle and where her flag on the seas has decreed the exhaustion of the besieged nation. Once more from her island England will have saved Europe from the danger of continental hegemony, which menaced her with the weight of its tyranny, and once more she will be the arbitress, liberal and prudent as as ever, of the destinies of the world.

The place of England in the international congress which, whilst discussing terms of peace, will change the colours on the map of four continents, is already assigned. What will be Italy's place? Undoubtedly that which the conquests of our arms and the wisdom of our government will have been able to prepare.

Since her entry into the field alongside the nations of the Entente, Italy has enjoyed the incomparable advantage of carrying the war into the enemy's country, and, beyond the fulfilment of her own national aspirations, of being able, therefore, to contribute immediate and valid aid towards the common victory. This initial advantage will be further increased in the future by the fresh successes announced by our army and navy, and, even if Italy should not

succeed in anything beyond delivering her own soil from Austrian dominion, her position would be such as fully and permanently to guarantee her the happiest future as a great power.

Everything tends to show that the military action of Italy, admirable in preparation and development, will be extended on different theatres of the great war, which will extraordinarily serve to strengthen our prestige; but we repeat, that should this not be the case, and even should Italy's campaign be confined within the limits of her boundaries, our special victory would undoubtedly have so much weight in the balance of the common victory, as to assign to Italy a place of the first rank, alongside of England, among the victorious nations of the anti-German coalition.

No less important than military action while the war lasts, is diplomatic action, and to-day, given the conditions themselves in which the Triple Alliance was dissolved, Italy cannot do otherwise than follow the policy of the agreement with England, since among the allied nations she it is who has with us the greatest combination of negative, and no opposition of positive interests. Now, since we have conquered with sacrifices, that are too often forgotten, colonies in Africa, and are determined to keep them, it is right to wish that these agreements, which will trace the path of our future as a great power and influence our expansion in the world, the existence and prosperity of our colonies, should in every way be guaranteed, especially in view of the new dominions that England is conquering and annexing on the African continent.

The liquidation of the German colonial empire should interest the nation and government as much as the liquidation of Asiatic Turkey, and, since the moment is propitious, we should be able to obtain in Africa and Asia, as in the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean, that which the tenacious short-sightedness and sometimes the culpable ignorance of past governments has taken from us, or has prevented our acquiring. Above all we ought to insist that our diplomacy—apart from those compensations to which Italy can aspire to-morrow for the equilibrium of Africa which will be determined by the European war—should strive for the definite solution of all those colonial questions of ours, so long debated and always left undecided both with England and with France, questions of abiding interest to our little colonial world. Thus, by timely action, the errors of the past once corrected, our interest can be safeguarded from possible, irremediable, future dangers.

Let us remember—the boundaries of our colonies are no less unjust than were until yesterday the boundaries of the mother country. But even if the former are restored according to our rights by opportune concessions from our allies, let us not forget that such concessions, although now imposed on the English and French governments by the territorial accessions which their respective African empires have obtained, and will obtain from the annexation of German colonies, cannot constitute for us any title for compensation.

A few brief points are worth while considering. England, besides the annexation of Egypt, has added to her African Empire the German colony in the south-west (835,100 square kilometres; pop. 98,130) rechristened by the name of Bothaland, in honour of the general who conquered it. This, with the States of the Union, will constitute the new South African Confederation, of which it is already intended in London to entrust the presidency to Botha. England has already divided Togoland (87,200 kilometres; pop. 2,752,871) with France, and is prepared to divide the Cameroon.

With the annexation of the Cameroon all the basin of the Chad will become an exclusively Franco-Anglo possession, and with the basin of the Chad is connected the ancient question of the *hinterland* of Tripoli. This was defined between France and England in the Convention of 21 March, 1899, which determining the respective zones of influence of the two countries south and east of Tripoli, closed the actual mouth of the Chad across Tripoli itself into the Mediterranean, and thus diverted all the commerce and traffic of those regions to the Atlantic through English Nigeria and French Senegal. Thus, while Tripoli, for evident geographical reasons has always been the shortest way to the sea for the territories of the basin of the Chad, the Italian occupation found the country deprived of its chief traffic, since—apart from the slave trade, which had ceased, and the railways which from Nigeria, Senegal, and the Cameroon run towards this basin—France and England

had monopolized all the caravan routes towards the Sudan and Egypt, cutting off Tripoli from the central basins and depriving Ghat, the former "port of the Sahara," of all value as a market. Hence the Arab merchants of Tripoli now receive the products from the Chad basin, and trade with the agents of Kano through Liverpool or Marseilles.

Italy fortunately has never accepted the Anglo-French Convention of March 1899; why not, then, discuss it now and correct it in such a way that our colony recovers a little of the importance it has lost?

And Egypt? Should not the annexation of this immense and magnificent territory impose on England the definite rectification of our Cyrenaic boundary, in order to guarantee us the possession of the entire *hinterland* of the Marmarica and Cyrenaica? English penetration, accomplished under Turkish domination—an actual though by no means rightful domination—in the Marmarica and throughout Cyrenaica aimed at securing to the Sudan an outlet in the Mediterranean, independent of Egypt and of its future political fate, but now that Egypt is a British possession the routes to the Sudan are rendered permanently safe, and without any sacrifice England could resolve in our favour that complication of questions, to which is allied not only the just delimitation of our frontier with Egypt, but also the peace and future of our colony.

Although German East Africa has not yet been occupied by the English, it is certain that the largest, the wealthiest, and the most populous German colony

(995,000 square km.; pop. 7,666,336), which cuts like a wedge into the continuity of the British Empire in Africa on the great route from the Mediterranean to the Cape, will be annexed to the adjacent territory of British East Africa; and thus all the English possessions from Egypt to the lands of the Union, all the territories traversed by the future Transafrican Cairo Capetown railway—a colossal factor for the most thorough and complete exploitation of the Dark Continent—will form one single uninterrupted dominion such as existed in the aspirations of the most ambitious British imperialism.

• The occupation of German East Africa is consequently so important as amply to justify all the sacrifices of troops which England has hitherto made and which she is ready to make in order to achieve this end as quickly as possible. If with a good contingent of Somali troops Italy could take part in this campaign which England is determined to conduct with the utmost vigour, the advantages we should reap would be such as to compensate our efforts with usury, since they would finally open to us also the wealthy roads to Lakes Victoria and Tanganika.

Nevertheless without premature aspirations towards conquests which nothing but direct participation in the arduous campaign, which England is waging in East Africa, would avail to obtain for us, the valuable acquisition which England will have acquired when the campaign is over in this part of Africa—where Italy has neither few nor slight interests—will give us reason to claim, for the shipping and commercial

future of Benadir, at least that port of Kisimāju, which in the unlucky days of the cession of Kassala the English government seemed inclined to award us as compensation, had only our government ventured to ask for it.

From Cape Guardafui to Juba, for 1700 kilometres of coast—the famous “closed coast”—Benadir has no single port, no possible landing place. Beyond Juba, no sooner does English territory begin, than the coast opens in a series of splendid harbours, of which the first is Kisimaju, to which all the ever increasing movement of the lands along the coast of our colony is subject. Our commerce of the region of Juba, the fertile Gosch, has hitherto been made, either crossing Juba from Jumbo to the English village of Gobwen and thence by land as far as Kisimaju, or by reaching this port from the mouth of the Juba by sea; in one way or another always subject to Kisimaju and at the risk of all our traffic irrecoverably being deviated on to English territory. In 1905 the English in fact granted us a lease at Kisimaju and—in order to erect a warehouse there—we were obliged to accept a little piece of ground of 130 yards on the port, and a right of way on the Juba, all for £1 a year. From this concession it is clear that the chief beneficiaries are the English, and all the efforts of our government to free us from this servitude have always hitherto been shattered by the thankless topographical conditions of our coast.

For England, who possesses along the east coast of Africa numerous ports, to which she can now add

those no less splendid of the German coast, the cession of such a port as Kisimaju, is certainly not a loss, while for us it would be the fortune of Benadir, at least in its southern and richest part.

We have outlined a summary of those minor questions which Italy desires to have resolved by the Allies of to-day, for the very existence of her actual colonies, and to show that the solution of such questions, however favourable to our interests, can be nothing more than the recognition and the sanction due to our earlier rights, already acquired before the European war. There remains to be discussed, as has been said, the greater question of the true and proper compensations due to us by the English and French annexation of the German colonies of Africa and Oceania, but on such compensations as may be proportioned to the successes of our soldiers in Europe, it is better to remain silent while the victories of our arms are in progress.

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Much more surely our right is defined in the heritage of the colonial mortgages which Germany and Austria are leaving in Asiatic Turkey, and of which the *Bagdadbahn* may be called the backbone, not only on its own account as the great road of traffic, but for the yield of the territories it crosses—among the most fertile in the world—a yield which constituted for the Germans the chief mortgage.

The victory of the Allies over the Turco-Austro-German coalition will signify the end of the Ottoman Empire; the total liquidation and direct territorial

partition between the victorious powers or—in case of a separate peace with Turkey—a formal survival under the immediate control and the effective sovereignty of the victors, which will be exercised within the clearly determined zone of influence. In one case or the other the problems to be resolved are two; that of the Straits and that of the repartition of the zones of direct or indirect dominion.

A formal survival of the Ottoman Empire would leave the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles definitely open, disarmed, neutralized under the direct collective control of the victorious powers; but should the Ottoman Empire formally disappear, the question would become much more serious and complicated, and the interest of the Allies profoundly divergent. For on one side Russia, advancing the traditional racial aims and the so-called testamentary dispositions of Peter and Catherine, makes no mystery of her desire to possess Constantinople and the Straits, and on the other hand England, France and Italy could not quietly accept a solution which, bringing Russia directly on the Aegean and assuring her the inviolable naval base of the Black Sea, would all at once give her a gigantic strategic, and perhaps also a commercial, predominance in the Mediterranean, from which until yesterday she was excluded. The former English opposition to the opening of the Straits would be reaffirmed and with greater reason, and with the support of the commanding interests of Italy as of France. The speech of Sir Edward Grey on this subject is sufficiently significant.

Can such a solution be accepted without danger by the minor Balkan states, who would thereby find themselves inextricably caught in the iron grasp of Russia, in a position of necessary vassalage; nor by Greece who, besides the passing away of her beautiful dream of Byzantium, would see her great traffic in Russian grain between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea practically compromised; nor by Bulgaria, to whom would be irreparably closed the route by the Sea of Marmora; nor yet by Roumania, who, threatened with suffocation in the Russian Black Sea, would be entirely in the power of her boundless and formidable neighbour. Hence, even in the case of a complete liquidation of the Ottoman Empire, it would perhaps be convenient to allow a diminished and autonomous Turkey to survive at Constantinople and on the Straits, or to find some other less dangerous solution, whether the internationalization of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles, or the assigning of the two shores—the European and the Asiatic—to two different and less formidable masters. However, even if it be premature to discuss the question, the right of Italy to debate and define with the other powers the solution of this problem, which is one of the gravest to which the present war will give rise, seems indisputable.

The other problem, that of a fresh partition of the rest of the Ottoman Empire in zones of direct or indirect dominion between the victorious nations, is clearer, simpler. As the political mortgages of Germany will be automatically cancelled, transferred

and divided among the victors, so those of Austria will fall with full right to us, seeing that Austria, cut off from the sea, all her heritage on the Mediterranean, which comes under the common heading of Trieste, is incontestably ours. There will therefore be a Turkish inheritance and a German inheritance to be divided between France, England, Russia and Italy (the last named as heir in her own name and as legal heir of Austria) on the score of the areas of the preceding mortgages.

Beyond the occupation of Egypt, of Cyprus, of the stations on the Persian Gulf and the Egyptian claims to Palestine, England has throughout the entire Empire large concessions in railways, mines, and harbours. She has already partly realized her mortgages during the war, annexing Cyprus and proclaiming the protectorate over Egypt; is preparing to realize the remainder, claiming at least a great part of Mesopotamia, "Egypt with two Niles," an enormous granary, the largest and most fertile zone of Asiatic Turkey, the fattest and richest spoils, and, through Egyptian ambitions, to lay claim to Palestine, as the bridge of her desired great overland route from Egypt to India.

France's rights are rather historic and religious. She is the nation of the Crusades, the official protectress of Christianity and of Christian institutions in the Levant, although of late years the protectorate has been reduced to a mere formality. She is also through *l'Alliance israelite* the protectress of the Jewish community and institutions; has convents

and numerous schools; has finally railway, harbour and mineral concessions, of a character essentially industrial rather than political. These varied interests are centred in Syria, and more especially at Lebanon and at Beirut. Not that in Syria she does not encounter the competition of penetration, frequently victorious, of English and Italo-Triestine commerce, and of religious and scholastic institutions of Italy; but England as well as Italy may renounce in Syria in favour of France the rights of this penetration in compensation for analogous renunciations of France in their favour in other parts of the Empire.

As for Russia, except some recent concession, she has not in reality any pre-established right; but she stands on the confines, is militarily very strong, and has made colossal efforts and sacrifices during the present war. For some time past she has laid claim to Armenia, and everything leads to the belief that she will get it.

And Italy? Italy has above all historic rights not inferior to those of the French. Suffice it the tradition of Imperial Rome and that of the maritime and colonizing supremacy of her republics, the remembrance of which is not yet extinguished in these places. Until a few years ago the only European language spoken along the whole Asiatic coast and even in Upper Mesopotamia, in the vilayet of Orfa, besides Greek, was Italian, and Italian is still the language used by sailors. Italy has, moreover, convents, schools, hospitals, religious institutions throughout the Empire. The guardianship of the Holy Land,

founded by S. Francis of Assisi, in spite of the formality of French protection which has survived, is entirely Italian, and in virtue of its origin, composition, direction, and in its spirit is at open strife with the French claim to religious monopoly; as are all the Franciscan houses and Franciscan works dependent on it, scattered throughout the Empire from Cairo to Smyrna. Equally Italian, supremely Italian, are the Salesians and the Sisters of Ivrea, who have numerous and flourishing convents, schools, hospitals, everywhere. Italian too, are the Carmelites, especially at Alexandretta and the Capuchins; thoroughly Italian and admirable in its work and its organization, co-ordinated by Italian influence from Jerusalem to Beirut, Alexandretta, Smyrna, Constantinople, is the *Associazione Nazionale delle Missioni*, which has inherited and brought to a flourishing condition, overcoming even French competition, the languid lay schools founded by Francesco Crispi. For the rest, from the Convention of 1905 with France until today more than forty religious institutions have already asked and received official transference from French to Italian protection.

Besides this, Italy has the Dodecanessus, Rhodes, and the smaller islands, a *point d'appui* and a guarantee for the penetration and conquest of Anatolia, which is situated opposite that Dodocanessus, that we have fortunately held in spite of many and obstinate Greek intrigues, in spite of Anglo-French diplomacy and of the accustomed democratic kindness, which would have desired to make a graceful gift

of these possessions to the pan-Hellenic hunger of Signa, Venizelos. Italy has also the Concession of Adalia, that is the concession of the exclusive work of railways, harbours, and mines for four years in the Sanjaks of Mentesha, Burdur, and Adalia, where in addition the English company of the Smyrna-Aidin railway has ceded to her its rights; she has her traffic with the Levant, thus that of the kingdom like that of Trieste, which taken together in Asiatic Turkey surpass the trade of all other European nations.

But more than tradition, religious institutions, military occupations, industrial concessions, Italy has the right which is derived not only from her inadequate and unjust position in the Mediterranean, but from the emigration of her sons. In the Mediterranean, which encompasses her, and in which she entirely lives and breathes, in the Mediterranean, in which France dominates the entire African coast from Morocco to Tunis opposite Sicily, and is preparing to dominate the Asiatic coast of Syria, in the Mediterranean, of which England holds the two gates—Gibraltar and Suez—and the strategic positions of Malta, Cyprus, and Egypt, and contemplates the occupation of Palestine and Mesopotamia behind it as far as the Persian Gulf; Italy has nothing but Libya—harbourless and sterile—the first necessary step, but the first step only to the necessary balance of power. The Dodecannessus is nothing, or next to nothing by itself without Smyrna, which centres within it most of the traffic of Anatolia and cuts Rhodes off from the great commercial routes; and the concession of Adalia, if

possessing a certain value as English recognition of our zone of influence, is for the day of settlement less than nothing in face of the avidity of others, unless it be completed with the greater ports of penetration, Mersina and Alexandretta, with their *hinterland*.

On the other hand the emigration from Italy of artisans and professional men, but still more of the proletariat has already given, and continues to give, its immense inestimable tribute of human labour to all the enterprises that are developed in Asiatic Turkey. Artisans, navvies, masons, have given their hands—badly recompensed for the most part—to the construction of French harbours, the work of English railways and mines, and to the German *Bagdadbahn*. Italian engineers have given their best talents, and humbler merchants and employés are in every town of the Turkish Empire very indifferently protected.

It is now time that all these Italian exiles, hitherto servants and labourers for foreign wealth and dominion, should be able to work and live on Italian soil, protected by the banner and laws of the mother country, that they should at last be citizens of the land of their labours, Libya being scarcely sufficient for this purpose. In the inheritance of the Ottoman Empire Italy requires a large share, fertile and fruitful of future life and wealth, such as is proportioned to our rights, and exempt from the mortgages of other nations; Anatolia from the Hermus to the boundaries of Syria, including Smyrna and Alexandretta with the respective *hinterland*. This is the share of Italy, and this ought to be entirely Italian.

The new balance of the Mediterranean which will succeed the present, according to the areas of the so-called mortgages, such as we see them to-day, represents in its crisis of diplomatic elaborations among the chanceries of the Entente a terrible unknown quantity and Italy, strong in the justice of her cause, and in the right of her arms, will be able to face it with serenity. Never again any pacifist illusions.

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Who can venture to assert that the peace which will follow the great war will not before it ends bear within its bosom the seeds of other inevitable wars in the future?

• These are the germs which the East cultivates and with which the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the Far East is laden. Think of the dark and tragic situation created by the Japanese occupation of Kiao-chau, which took place with the moral assistance rather than with the effective participation of England, but which for Japan has been the key, robbed from Europe, for the conquest of the greatest colony of the world—China.

The day following the surrender of Tsing-tau we might still have ventured in this old Europe of ours, which like Filippo Argenti, turns against itself with its own teeth, to put the question, "Will the Japanese government restore Kiao-chau to China"? and even "Will Europe demand from Japan the restoration of Kiao-chau to China"? But to-day, after the dropsical republic, supinely accepting the Japanese Ultimatum

of May 1915, has renounced at a stroke her own independence, Europe will have to address very different questions to herself, and will have to resolve much more difficult queries for future peace at the end of the war.

What is China to-day if not a Japanese protectorate? It is enough to reflect that the Chinese government is obliged to appoint Japanese counsellors, and cannot conclude treaties with other states without having previously consulted these counsellors, that is, without permission of Japan; is obliged to allow special Japanese jurisdiction to be instituted throughout China; to tolerate Chinese arsenals being placed under the same direction as Japanese, which means that Chinese arsenals are under direct Japanese control. And all these things took place suddenly one fine morning when Europe had too much on hand.

German Kiao-chau was the advanced sentinel of European resistance against a possible Japanese hegemony; scarcely had it fallen when, without striking a blow, Japan was able to effect the greatest act of brigandage recorded in history, and Europe and America showed for the moment that they did not believe it. The danger, more than ever serious and imminent, awakened grave anxiety both at the Foreign Office and the White House, and was such as to cause anxiety to all civilized nations, although at present it is neither possible to foresee its limits nor to estimate its menace.

On the other hand we believe that on the day on which she accepted Japanese intervention in the

European conflict, however limited in the seas of the Far East, England cannot have deluded herself with the thought that Japan would have sacrificed men and vessels in the Bay of Kiao-chau simply to secure the ports of China for the entrance of the "made in Japan" goods, to weaken the German railway hegemony in Shantung, to suppress a rival without supplanting him, nor that of the territory conquered at the price of blood (and how much blood!) she would even have made a gracious gift to China, annulling the German-Chinese contract eighty-three years before its expiration.

Let us glance at the map. For a state which possesses the great bow-shaped archipelago, extending before the two continental wars from Liu-Kiu to the Straits of La Perouse, and reaching with the peace of Shimonoseki beyond the tropic (Formosa) and as far as the 50th-parallel (Southern Saghalien, Karafuto) to that of Portsmouth, is it not likely that every point opposite the coast is a coveted conquest? Already the Peace of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese war, giving Port Arthur to Japan, prepared the annexation of Korea; Tsing-tau now closes in a circle that bow which Korea and Port Arthur form at the north and east of Chili (Pechili) and of Huang-hai (the Yellow sea), which is equivalent to bottling up the power of all effective strategy of the English possession of Wei-hai-wei as a "flying naval base."

If Japanese hegemony in the Far East, such as is confirmed by the exclusive Japanese possession of Kiao-chau, was a danger to be avoided by England

at all costs (and the presence of the English detachment among the troops besieging Tsing-tai was meant to parry the great blow), Japanese hegemony extended to the whole of Asia by means of the subjugation of China is the Yellow Peril in its most frightful and most dreaded aspect, such as William II who understood hegemony, hoped to forestall.

Those competent Englishmen, who reproached their country with excessive sympathy for Japan and counselled her against being too lavish of capital, such as might enable the Empire of the Rising Sun to vie with English commerce (made in Japan ~~versus~~ made in England) were right. And when in 1898 Chamberlain, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies and Germany had installed herself at Kiaochau, asserted in the English Parliament: "Our interests in China are intimately allied and march parallel to those of Germany," he perceived quite clearly the menace of the East. Later on, during the well-known interview granted by William II to a correspondent of the "Daily Mail," the Emperor exaggerating the political truth uttered by Chamberlain—a truth conditional on the peace of Europe remaining unbroken—went so far as to assert that "whatever dispute might arise between England and Germany in other parts of the world, the day was not far distant in which the fleets of these two nations would be found side by side in defence of their common interests in the Pacific." By looking too fixedly at the East, William II prepared for himself bitter delusions in Europe, and the day prophesied by him found the two nations enemies in

the Far East itself, found England even the ally of Japan.

This alliance is like a stain on the history of English politics, the yellow stain which the future will speedily remove. Japan is the Germany of the East, a more wary and cunning Germany, who is advancing with giant steps towards the West. It was observed that Asia is preparing for Japanese hegemony, ready to suppress when the favourable moment arrives every trace of European dominion. And supposing the question were one of freeing a civilized continent—and the greater part of Asia is far from being civilized—from the mercantile and military yoke of the white usurper, we might accept even this somewhat excessive consequence of the principles of independence. But we are contending with the ambitious dream of a people who would not foster the natural union founded on common liberty, but rather the gradual subjugation of the vastest continent on earth in order to make its strength felt throughout the world. And this must be prevented.

Certainly no colonial heritage will ever cost the entire world so dear as that which Germany has left at Kiao-chau. Will Europe know how to reconquer it again and do justice to her own civilization?

CHAPTER VIII

STATISTICS

Area and Population of the German Colonial Empire—Finances—
Commerce and Navigation—Principal Products of Exportation—
Railways—Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones—Imperial Troops

AREA AND POPULATION OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

Colonies.	Area in square km.	Population in 1913.			
		White.	Coloured.	Total.	Per km.
Togo	87,200	368	1,032,000	1,032,368	11
Cameroon	790,000	1,871	2,751,000	2,752,871	3.2
Africa, South-West . .	835,100	14,830	83,300	98,130	0.1
Africa, East	995,000	5,336	7,661,000	7,666,336	7
AFRICA	2,707,300	22,405	11,527,300	11,549,705	4
New Guinea:					
Kaiser Wilhelmsland and Bismarck Archipelago	240,000	968			
East Caroline and Marshall Islands . }	2,476	{ 264 }	601,700	603,127	2.5
West Caroline and Marianne Islands . }		{ 195 }			
Samoa Islands	2,572	557	37,540	38,097	14
PACIFIC OCEAN .	245,048	1,984	639,240	641,224	1.8
Territory of Kiao-Chau	552	4,470	192,000	196,470	350
TOTAL	2,952,900	28,859	12,358,540	12,387,399	4

For the acquisition, the development, and the preservation of this colonial dominion, notably inferior to that of England (square km. 29,760,500; population 374,689,900), to that of France (square km. 10,113,000; pop. 49,627,000), and even to that of Holland (square km. 2,045,647; pop. 38,105,000), the Empire on 31 March 1906 had spent, according to a calculation of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the sum of 845 million marks, without taking into account the expenses incurred for Kiao-chau. Some years later the sum already exceeded a milliard.

Its colonies of commerce, as outlets for the products of national industry, the Togo, the Cameroon, and East Africa seemed likely to become successful fields of action, and in the last decade (1901-1911) the traffic between the metropolis and its colonies was quadrupled. The deputy Dernburg, speaking at Frankfort on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the constitution of the *Kolonialverein*, said: "The commerce of German colonial possessions is not yet very high, but this affords no cause for surprise, since hitherto the receipts of the colonies have served essentially to defray the expenses of administration and defence. All the same the results achieved are satisfactory. The total commerce in 1906 has shown an increase of 24 per cent. on the preceding year. Even since 1902 the average increase has been 19 per cent., far above the commercial progress of the English colonies (1.13 per cent.) or that of French colonies (5.22 per cent.)."

Naturally this increase will tend to diminish by

FINANCE

BALANCE SHEET OF PUBLIC EXPENSES 1914-1915 (IN MARKS)

Law of May 1914

Receipts and Expenses.	East Africa.	Cameroon.	Togo.	South-West Africa.	New Guinea.	Samoa.	Kiao-Chau.	Total.
Receipts	20,471,068	14,094,091	4,174,341	28,199,450	2,116,864	1,374,354	8,064,601	78,494,769
Savings	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,358,387	1,358,387
Imperial Subventions	3,300,000	3,166,318	—	12,140,013	1,717,022	—	9,088,602	29,311,955
Public Debt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,529,363
Loan	37,500,000	15,230,000	3,602	7,480,875	—	—	—	60,214,477
RECEIPTS	61,271,068	32,490,409	4,177,943	47,820,338	3,833,886	1,374,354	18,411,590	179,908,951
Civil Administration	10,167,920	7,757,225	2,103,005	9,604,005	2,616,576	986,796	1,212,280	34,537,807
Military Administration	3,310,100	2,901,206	—	14,021,173	—	—	4,353,196	24,585,675
Fleet	326,000	406,284	—	—	513,260	—	—	1,245,544
Compensation Funds	—	48,960	377,692	93,256	—	32,824	—	552,732
Custom House	282,504	149,500	257,200	2,479,200	—	—	5,098,059	8,266,459
Sundry Expenses	6,402,462	1,696,476	759,494	3,840,302	—	—	3,925,905	16,654,639
Initial Expenses	3,282,086	4,300,758	646,950	10,211,527	704,050	354,734	3,822,150	23,322,255
Public Debt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,529,363
Extraordinary Expenses	37,500,000	15,230,000	3,602	7,480,875	—	—	—	60,214,477
EXPENSES	61,271,068	32,490,409	4,177,943	47,820,338	3,833,886	1,374,354	18,411,590	179,908,951

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION IN 1912

COLONIES.	TOTAL COMMERCE.		COMMERCE WITH GERMANY.		VESSELS ENTERED INTO PORT.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Number	Tonnage.
	In Marks.	In Marks.	In Marks.	In Marks.		
East Africa	50,309,000	31,418,000	25,820,000	17,827,000	1,034	1,914,000
Cameroon	34,242,000	23,336,000	27,216,000	19,841,000	604	1,733,000
South-West Africa	32,499,000	39,935,000	26,142,000	26,454,000	430	1,417,000
Togoland	11,428,000	9,959,000	4,820,000	5,808,000	258	572,000
Kaiser Wilhelm Island and Bismarck Archipelago.	5,872,000	5,041,000	2,221,000	4,489,000	634	503,000
Caroline and Marianne Islands	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marshall Islands	3,325,000	7,046,000	956,000	1,991,000	346	443,000
Samoa Islands	4,994,000	5,044,000	986,000	2,536,000	121	84,000
Kiao-Chau	21,254,000	79,640,000	?	?	785	1,309,000

degrees also for the German colonies when the organization of the local resources reaches that degree of development found in the French and English colonies, which cannot yield that which a virgin soil yields and may yield for some time longer.

It is necessary here to remember that, having arisen too late and in an old continent, the German colonies were somewhat imperfectly delimited with regard to their own function, whence a great part of the commerce escaped through other routes, such as the Congo, the Niger and Uganda, comprised in the zone of economic and political dominion of other nations.

As colonies of plantation the German colonies have a considerable importance, although such plantations are still in an elementary stage. Were communications improved, means of transport increased, the native populations pacified, rendered tranquil and industrious by a sagacious policy of humanity and justice, the millions of marks which the government and German firms have spent until yesterday in tropical regions would produce vast wealth, and when the millions and millions of young plants, which the governments of the colonies have cultivated in the various botanic stations, in experimental fields, in gardens of acclimatization, yield the fruits hoped for, the successors of Germany will have a magnificent source of production for the markets in rubber, cotton, coffee, cocoa, etc.

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS IN EXPORTATION

(IN MARKS)

EAST AFRICA, 1912:

Rubber, 8,426,000; Fibre of Agave, 7,359,000; Skins, 4,067,000; Cotton, 2,110,000; Coffee, 1,903,000; Copra, 1,563,000; Arachnida, 1,273,000; Wax, 829,000; Gold, 531,000; Sesamum, 524,000; Mica, 482,000; Ivory, 361,000; Butter, Milk, Cheese, 258,000; Rice, 201,000; *Mtama*, 150,000; Timber, 146,000; Copal, 120,000.

CAMEROON, 1912:

Rubber, 11,473,000; Palm Seed, 4,406,000; Cocoa, 3,380,000; Palm oil, 1,413,000; Timber, 696,000; Ivory, 536,000.

TOGO, 1912:

Palm Seed, 4,442,000; Palm Oil, 1,622,000; Rubber, 976,000; Cotton, 515,000; Cocoa, 243,000; Maize, 231,000.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA, 1912:

Diamonds, 30,414,000; Bronze, 6,523,000; Lead, 228,000; Skins, 298,000; Wool, 150,000; Ostrich Feathers, 95,000.

COLONIES IN THE PACIFIC, 1912:

Copra, 10,080,000; Phosphates, 4,991,000; Cocoa, 915,000; Bird of Paradise Feathers, 449,000; Shells, 158,000; Rubber, 267,000; Trepang, 100,000.

RAILWAYS

At the end of 1914 the railways constructed in German colonies were as follows:

East Africa	km. 1587
Cameroon	310
Togo	327
South West Africa	2104
Kiao-Chau (comprising the Shantung)		436

There was besides a line of 133 km. in process of construction in the Cameroon.

POSTS, TELEGRAPHS, AND TELEPHONES, 1912

Colonies.	Offices.	Letters and Cards.	Newspapers.	P. O. ORDERS.		Telegrams.	Communications by Telephone.
				Number.	Value in Marks.		
Togo	18	488,606	113,296	25,047	3,396,000	36,695	54,285
Cameroon	37	1,526,301	257,787	83,416	16,592,000	109,931	470,335
East Africa	45	3,676,455	465,212	177,779	41,820,000	315,965	304,153
South-West Africa .	70	5,472,623	1,684,629	248,516	35,094,000	393,835	2,892,119
New Guinea, etc. .	19	383,815	146,649	11,848	2,347,000	1,727	49,178
Samoa	8	267,176	33,450	5,417	1,415,000	—	111,293
Kiao-Chau	10	2,326,301	240,769	23,472	967,000	97,430	1,149,469

IMPERIAL TROOPS (SCHUTZTRUPPE)

AFRICAN COLONIES, 1914

Colonies.	Officers.	Medical and Veterinary Officers.	Other Employés.	Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.		
				Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
East Africa . . .	68	44	5	134	2,472	2,723
South-West Africa	90	31	20	1,828	—	1,969
Cameroon . . .	66	27	2	118	1,650	1,863
Total . . .	224	102	27	2,080	4,122	5,555

The imperial troops of the German colonies were subject to the Chancellor of the Empire until 16 July 1896.

In South West Africa the police force comprised 9 officers, 3 paymasters, 470 white policeman, 550 police agents, 250 of whom were coloured men.

At Kiao-Chau the garrison was composed as follows: Governor's Staff, 4 officers; the 3rd Battalion of Marine Infantry, comprising a battery of pieces from 75, and the Naval Detachment of the Far East; 45 officers, 213 non-commissioned officers; a section of Marine Artillery of Kiao-Chau with 27 officers, 101 non-commissioned officers and 769 men.